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ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
 O R,  
 MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS  
 RELATING TO  
 ANTIQUITY.  
 PUBLISHED BY  
 THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.  
 VOLUME XIII



L O N D O N,  
 Printed by J. NICHOLS, Printer to the SOCIETY:  
 Sold at their APARTMENTS in SOMERSET PLACE; and by Messieurs WHITE,  
 ROBSON, LEIGH and SOTHEBY, BROWN, and EGERTON.  
 M D C C X C V I.

1800





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OF  
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At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 31, 1782.

RESOLVED,

THAT any gentleman, desirous to have separate copies of any memoir he may have presented to the Society, may be allowed, upon application to the Council, to have a certain number, not exceeding twenty, printed off at his own expence.

At a Council, May 23, 1792.

RESOLVED,

That the order made the 31st of May, 1782, with respect to gentlemen who may be desirous to have separate copies of any memoir they may have presented to the Society be printed in the volumes of the Archaeologia, in some proper and conspicuous part, for the better communication of the same to the Members at large.



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 ARCHÆOLOGIA:

OR,

[ MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS, &amp;c.

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I. *A Description of what is called a Roman Camp in Westphalia, by the Abbé Mann, in a Letter addressed to the President.*

Read April 7, 1796.

MY LORD,

THE signal favour I received, in January 1793, from the learned Society of Antiquaries (over which your Lordship so worthily presides), of being admitted an honorary member of that illustrious body, has constantly made me wish to meet with an occasion that might enable me to express my gratitude by some communication worthy of its notice.

The enclosed paper may probably not be worthy the notice of the Society of Antiquaries, though I have not yet found the subject of it mentioned by any author: but it will answer my aim in sending it, if it be accepted as a mark of my sincere gratitude and

*A Description of what is called*

profound respect for that learned body ; and also, as it gives me an occasion of testifying those sentiments to your Lordship, for the great politeness you were pleased to shew me when last in London.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's,

Most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

*Ratisbon, Feb. 21, 1796.* ABBÉ MANN.

P. S. Though but slowly recovering from a long and dangerous illness, I am obliged to leave this place for Austria in the beginning of April.

THIS Roman Camp, as it is called in the country about it, is situated on a high plain adjoining to a hamlet, called in the maps *Barrum* or *Barnum*, near the eastern limit of the duchy of Cleves, belonging to the king of Prussia. It is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  English miles W. by S. of the city of Dorsten on the river Lippe, which falls into the Rhine at Wesel ; and about a mile south of the said river, and  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a mile from the high road leading from Dorsten to Duisbourg.

The ground called the Camp is about half a mile in breadth and a mile in length, being the North-eastern corner of a very extensive heath, which continues without interruption towards the South-west, near twelve miles as far as Sterkerad and Dinflagen, and with several interruptions Westward almost to Wesel. The whole is sand intermixed with pebbles and covered with heath ; there are also many bogs and marshes on it.



The particular spot called the Camp and part of the heath to the West of it, is a perfect level, entirely dry, and slightly covered with heath; and the ground under the heath is almost white with spathic pebbles of a great variety of sizes and shapes, but mostly round or oval: here and there a few are found resembling agate and porphyry; but the white predominate so as to make the ground look as it would do soon after a fall of large hail-stones.

The elevation of this plain with respect to the adjacent country, is so considerable, as to take in the whole horizon at the distance of twenty to thirty miles. The city of Wesel is distinctly seen at twenty miles distance, and Xanten at twenty-six miles distance. By conjecture, it may be 200 feet above the level of the river Lippe.

What is called the Camp is an oblong square, bounded on the South and East sides, and on part of the North, by cultivated grounds: on the rest of the North side is a slight appearance of a *Vallum*, and it is the only one discernible. To the Westward, no separation can be discerned from the rest of the level heath.

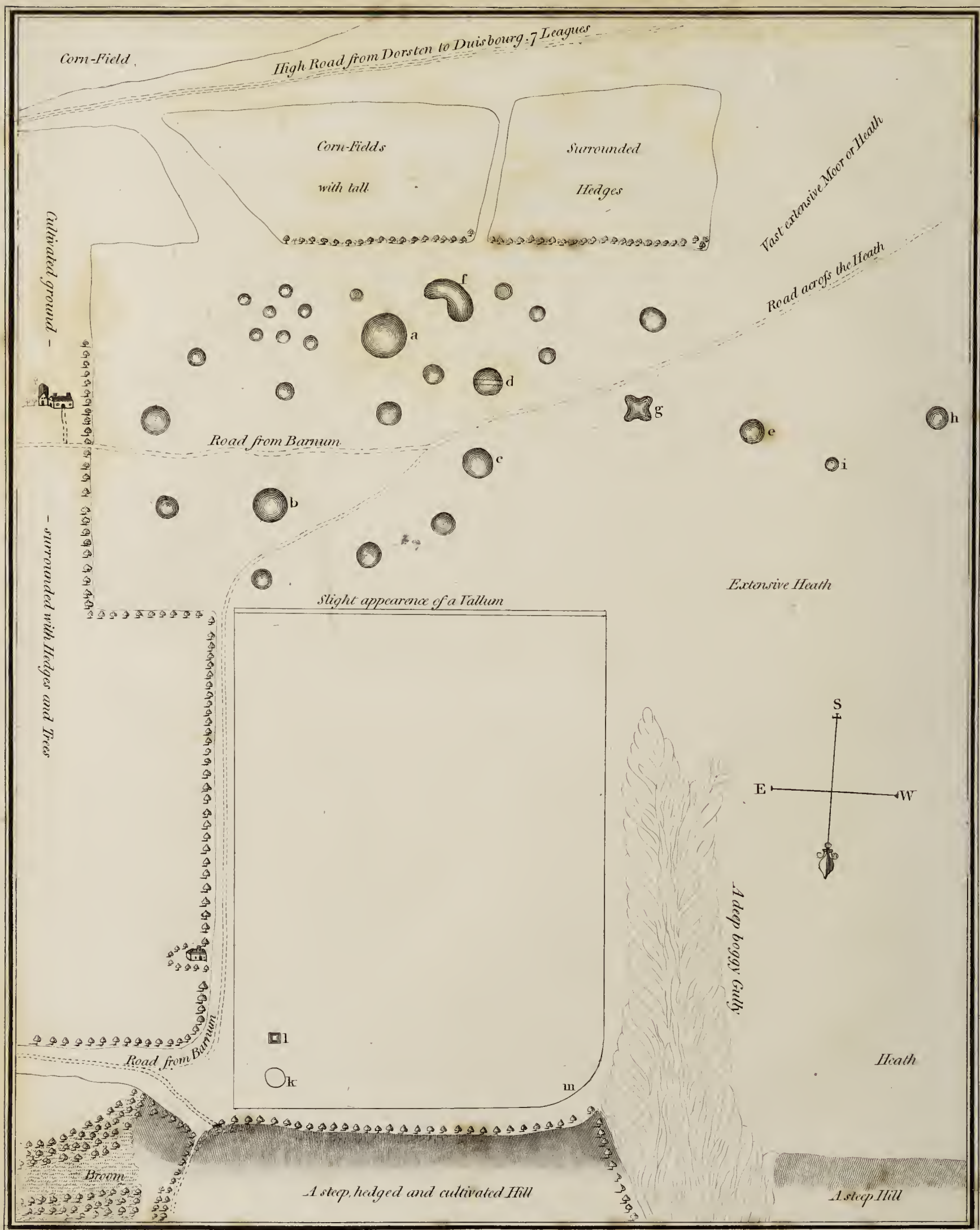
Within this compass of ground are seen twenty-eight or thirty *Tumuli* or Barrows, confusedly placed, so as to make it not easy to count them; but all perfectly distinct and round, two excepted, of which below. They are from six to twelve feet in height, and respectively as many yards, at least, in diameter. They are all covered with the same heath and white pebbles as the surrounding plain, and of the same apparent antiquity. One of them has been cut through, and another dug into from the summit, probably for the sake of exploring their contents: the excavations are in part filled up; but what remained open, shewed nothing but a mixture of pebbles, sand, and calcareous earth. Within this supposed Camp we found several pieces of granite: one of ten or twelve pounds weight; another of about three pounds weight, and one or two others lesser. It may be observed,

that fragments of granite are not uncommon in several parts of Westphalia: the streets of Paderborn are paved with them.

These *tumuli* seem to indicate that the ground whereon they are placed, was rather part of, or adjoining to, a field of battle, than a camp; because it is probable that they were raised over distinguished slain, and because it was not usual with ancient nations to bury within their camps or habitations. Being now destitute of books and all literary aid, it is not possible for me at present to make any researches concerning the æra of these *tumuli*, or the occasion that gave birth to them. I can only observe, as far as memory prompts, that no part of North Germany was more frequented by the Romans than the banks of the river Lippe (*olim Luppia*), near to which these *tumuli* are placed. The different sources of this river, as also those of the Ems (*ol. Amisia*), are in the Teutoburgian mountains (*ol. Saltus Teutoburgiensis*), so famous for the defeat of *Quintilius Varus* with the loss of his legions and eagles, under Augustus Cæsar, near Dethmold (*ol. Teutoburgum*); and that of *Drusus*, near Lippspring (*ol. Fontes Luppiaë*). The *Ara Drusi* is near this last named place, and the vestiges of the *Ara Drusi* or *Castrum Alifonis* are still very visible near the junction of the Elfen (*ol. Alifo*), with the Lippe, on a high heath four miles West of the city of Paderborn. The station of the German general *Arminius* (*ol. Arx Arminii*) was on the other side of the Teutoburgian mountains, at Hinnenborg, between Dryburg and Höxter. *Germanicus* warred a long while in these parts, and *Tiberius Cæsar* wintered at the *Luppiaë Fontes*, as may be seen in *Tacitus*; who says, that to render so frequented a road more easy and practicable for the Roman armies, *Aggeres et Pontes longi* were constructed over the wild heaths and marshes from the Rhine at Xanten and Wesel (*Luppiaë Ostium*) to the *Castrum Alifonis*. From these and many other well-known facts in the Roman history, it is easy to conceive, that the whole extent of the  
banks









banks of the river Lippe, must have been the scene of many bloody battles in their long wars with the *Sicambri*, *Marfi*, *Angri-varii*, *Cherufci*, *Brueteri*, &c. The principal feats of the *Sicambri* were in and round the Teutoburgian forest, which extended from Billefeldt and Dethmold, on the North, through the whole principality of Paderborn, towards the South, as far as Stadberg on the Dymel (*ol. Eresbergum*), famous for the temple of the Saxon god *Irmensul*, destroyed by Charlemagne. It is a semi-circular chain of mountains of considerable height, now for the most part bare, but formerly covered with wood, as its ancient name of *Saltus Teutoburgiensis* indicates, and as the description of it by Tacitus clearly proves.

But to return to the pretended camp near Dorsten: contiguous to it, on the North side, where the appearance of a *Vallum* is seen, there is another oblong square, lesser than the preceding one, being a plain slightly inclining to the North towards the river Lippe. It has more the appearance of having been a camp than the other, as the ground on the West, North, and East, of it has been distinctly dug from it to the adjoining declivity; which on the North and West sides is considerably steep. On this last side, and close to it, is a deep gully, rendered impassible by springs and boggy ground.

This last extent of ground is covered with the same sort of heath and pebbles as the former, but is destitute of all appearance of barrows, unless an annular ridge or *bourlet* in the North East corner, and a small square ridge near it, be the remains of such. The ground without that corner is likewise boggy. Close to this North side, the declivity becomes considerable, and the ground is cultivated down to the Lippe, except here and there a small wood or clump of trees, intermixed with very tall broom.

The annexed sketch (Pl. I.) may serve to give a slight idea of these grounds and *tumuli*; which also may be illustrated by the following remarks.

The

The *Tumulus* [a] is greatest of all, both in height and diameter, being about twelve feet high, and near twenty yards in diameter.

The *Tumulus* [b] is little less, either in height or diameter, than the preceding one, and being more insulated, is the most conspicuous of them all, especially when seen from the North.

The *Tumulus* [c] is lesser in diameter, but nearly equal in height to the two former: it is from this that the cities of Wesel and Xanten were seen to the greatest advantage.

The *Tumulus* [d] has been cut through the middle to a considerable depth, but is now in part filled up.

The *Tumulus* [e] has been excavated from the summit, and also in part filled up.

The *Tumuli* [f] and [g] are of a different form from all the rest, being nearly as represented in the sketch.

The *Tumulus* [h] is a considerable way on the plain westward of the rest. This and the *Tumulus* [e] are the only ones that can be seen from the high road; the rest being covered from view by hedges surrounding the fields which lie between them and the road.

[i] is an excavation in the plain apparently not ancient.

[k] is an annular ridge or *bourlet* of earth about two feet above the plain, but within lower than the plain: the whole covered with heath and pebbles like the rest of the plain.

[l] is a small square ridge of earth, about a foot higher than the plain, and hollow within. It is covered with heath and pebbles like the former; which shew that both are ancient.

[m] the excavation from the inclining plain is here not angular, but round.

This description was taken on the spot, Oct. 17 and 25, 1794, by

A. MANN.



II. *Some Observations upon the Life of Cecily Duchess of York, Daughter of Ralph de Nevil, Earl of Westmorland and of Richmond, by Joan, natural Daughter of John Duke of Lancaster. Communicated by the Reverend Mark Noble, F. S. A.*

Read April 14, 1796.

VERY few persons have lived to see such great revolutions in their family as Cecily duchess of York. Her father, from a baron, became a great and puissant earl; and no less than nine of his sons were, by descent, marriage, or creation, peers of the realm, his daughters matched suitably with the first nobility or gentry.

The Nevils, his grandchildren, were, if possible, still more illustrious: their vast honours and alliances gave them almost the sovereign power, at least it gained them the power of making and unmaking kings; to this combined strength it was owing that the house of York, the eldest branch of that of Plantagenet, was able to assert its rights to the crown, and finally to obtain it, for Cecily, the youngest of twenty-one children of Ralph earl of Westmorland and Richmond, marrying Richard Plantagenet duke of York, the Nevils thought it their interest to set him upon the throne.

Cecily was by birth a Lancastrian, her mother being the daughter of John duke of Lancaster, by his last duchess, but born before marriage, consequently illegitimate: so that Joan was half sister to king Henry IV. and Cecily was first cousin one

remove



remove to king Henry VI. ; this was of no avail when she married the representative of the second son of King Edward III. whose just rights had been usurped by king Henry IV. son of the duke of Lancaster, the third son of that monarch. Yet there appeared but little probability of her husband's ever obtaining the crown, because it had been possessed by the reigning branch of Lancaster by three sovereigns ; and the father of Richard her husband had been attainted and executed for treason.

Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, she saw her lord, by the assistance of her family interest, raised to the important post of governor of the kingdom, and declared heir apparent of the crown ; the parliament acknowledged his claim to be founded in justice, but permitted king Henry VI, the possessor, to enjoy the regal honours for his life, and, cutting off his son Edward, prince of Wales, and all others claiming from the unfortunate monarch, settled the succession in the Yorkists.

The ministers of king Henry VI. having given the duke of York her husband the government of France and Normandy, taught him how to command, not to obey ; this was tempting him beyond the power of forbearance, his just rights aiding his ambition : nothing but success, or destruction, could be expected ; his rashness only prevented the former, and though he fell, his acknowledged claim naturally vested in his son, who established it upon the ruin of the reigning branch of the Plantagenets.

It may be fairly asked, was it a fortunate or an unhappy event, that the Yorkists prevailed, even to themselves, and their friends, as it laid the foundation of so many misfortunes, and of such atrocious murders amongst them, as never, I think, have been paralleled in the Christian world ? Very many of these Cecily lived to be a witness of, and after her death this cruel shedding of blood continued to rage with equal violence until the younger branches became remote, whilst the eldest one was more established.

These

These dreadful enormities were occasioned by the original quarrel between the “white and the red roses,” and by the criminal ambition of the princes of the former when they had obtained the crown, by the cruel policy of extirpating all those that were near in affinity to those two sanguinary characters king Henry VII. and king Henry VIII. and by the different settlements in remainder of the crown, as interest, affection, or caprice suggested to the several princes who gained the throne.

The duchess Cecily saw her own family, the Nevils, as great as subjects could be; she lived to see them confined within less than their original bounds under her father, with the misfortune of their being obnoxious to the princes from a just jealousy of their former splendour, and the turbulent ambition that they had displayed, raising and debasing monarchs at their pleasure.

She saw her husband when just ascending the steps of the throne, by his rashness, killed in battle, and his head, separated from his body, in derision crowned with a paper diadem.

Of her sons, five died children [a]. Edward, the oldest surviving one, became king. The second Edmond, a youth of twelve years of age, was cruelly put to death after the battle of Wakefield. George, the third son, who had been sometimes true, at others disloyal to his eldest brother and sovereign, was convicted, and put to death by the procurement of one, and at the order of another of his brothers. Richard, the youngest son, after usurping the regal honours, and disgracing himself by many murderous deeds, fell in the field of battle, fighting against a prince who was descended from an illegitimate branch of the Lancaster line.

She had four daughters: Ursula, the youngest, died young and unmarried; Ann, who had two husbands, was married to Henry Hol-

[a] Henry, the eldest son of Cecily duchess of York, was so named in compliment to his godfather king Henry VI.



land, duke of Exeter, godson to king Henry VI. who was so greatly attached to that pious, but weak prince, that he never would desert his interest, though so contrary to his own; this displeased his duchess so much, that she never was satisfied, until she procured a divorce from him; she saw him reduced to the most abject state of human wretchedness and woe at the court of Burgundy, as the faithful de Comines relates; he was soon after murdered. Ann married in his life-time a very inferior character, Sir Thomas St. Leger, Knight; she survived this alliance only two years, dying January 14, 1475. St. Leger was put to death at Exeter by king Richard III. for attempting to dethrone him, and this probably because that monarch had given the preference to the earl of Lincoln in the succession of the crown to his daughter Ann, who became the wife of Sir George Manners, who in her right was lord Roose; he is ancestor of the dukes of Rutland. Elizabeth, second daughter of Cecily, married to John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, whose descendants were so peculiarly unfortunate. Margaret, the third daughter of the duchess of York, was married to Charles the Rash, duke of Burgundy, slain in 1477; she was the only one of her children who survived her, she not dying until 1503, and was the celebrated enemy to king Henry VII. and all the Lancastrians, spending her rich dower in projects to ruin that monarch, though the fate of Elizabeth his queen, her niece and her children must have been included in it. The emperor Charles V. was her godson, and was named after the duke of Burgundy her late husband.

The duchess Cecily of York was extremely unfortunate in the quarrels of her sons. Clarence was peculiarly turbulent, fickle, ambitious, avaricious, and rash. His quarrel with his brother Richard about his marriage, desirous of retaining the whole of the great possessions of the earl of Warwick, Richard Nevil, significantly called the "king-maker," whose eldest daughter he had married, was perhaps the first cause of their extreme dislike to



each other; and king Edward IV. never forgave him his difloyalty.

But if the relations of our common historians are to be credited, Cecily's fons were as defective in maternal, as fraternal affection; they fay, that king Edward IV. flighted the good advice ſhe gave him, when ſhe requested his majeſty not to marry a ſubject, though he had thought it his duty to conſult her upon it.

Theſe writers relate that Clarence openly accused his mother of adultery, to ſtigmatize the king with baſtardy, that he might claim the diadem at the expence of her honour, and that this was one of the accusations brought againſt him at his trial.

They alſo alledge that Richard, improving upon the hint, perſuaded the infamous Dr. Shaw at St. Paul's, and the duke of Buckingham in Guildhall, that ſhe had taken to her bed certain perſons perfectly reſembling Edward IV. and Clarence, by whom ſhe had them, and that Richard only had the features of the duke of York her huſband, and conſequently was the only ſon ſhe had by the duke.

All this is evidently only "Lancaſtrian tales." If Clarence was weak, the other brothers were not. All men would have looked upon Richard as ſuch a monſter, that he would never have gained his aim, if theſe relations had been made by his means.

The honourable Horatio Walpole, now earl of Orford, calls Cecily "a princeſs of ſpotleſs character," and ſhe ſeems to have juſtly deſerved it. Whatever Clarence might do againſt her fame, king Edward IV. and king Richard III. behaved with great honour and reſpect towards her.

The Paſton Letters ſay ſhe came to Coventry December 8, 1459, when her huſband had juſt been attainted, with their eldeſt ſon, and many others, by the parliament. In January 1459, 60 ſhe was "ſtill again received in Kent," whilſt the duke of

York, her husband, was at Dublin, “strengthened with his earls and homagers.” Christopher Hauffon writes to John Paston, esq. a letter dated from London, October 12, 1460, that “the Monday after our Lady-day, there came hither to my master’s place, my master Bowser, Sir Harry Ratford, John Clay, and the harbinger of my lord of March, desiring that my lady of York, and her two sons, my lord George and my lord Richard, and my lady Margaret her daughter; which I have granted them, in your name, to lie here until Michaelmas; and she had lain here two days, but she had tidings of the landing of my lord at Chester. The Tuesday next after, my lord sent for her, that she should come to him at Harford, Hereford, and thither she went, leaving the children, whom the lord of March, her eldest son, every day paid visits to.”

Soon after this, namely, December 31, 1460, the duke her husband fell at Wakefield. Here are proofs sufficient of her love to her children, obedience to her husband, and the regard of the public towards her.

She was equally respected in her widowed state, and this too at a time when her late husband was attainted, and she stripped of every thing which rank and fortune gave: for her person was then safe, even amongst her enemies, and her reputation remained unfullied, though it was so much to the interest of the Lancastrians to have aspersed her character, if there had been even a shadow, or semblance of probability of doing it, so as to gain belief.

In the reign of king Edward IV. she was treated with the respect due to his mother. In 1461 he sent under his sign manual a letter acquainting her of his having defeated king Henry VI, with every particular of the bloody battle of Towton. Fabian says, that in February 1470, when the nobility strove to make up the breach between king Edward IV. and Clarence, these royal bro-



thers met for that purpose at Baynard Castle, where the duchess, their mother, then lay.

She opposed the marriage of her eldest son king Edward IV. with his subject Elizabeth, widow of Sir Richard Widvile, knight; as highly impolitic, and injurious to his dignity and interest. But love was a more powerful passion than duty, or even his own security. The king, however, does not appear to have in the least derogated from his wonted respect to his mother afterwards, though the influence of his queen was superior to that of the widow of his father.

The queen was more beautiful than wise, more accomplished than politic, for she studied more to fill the court of her husband with her own relations, than to gain the friendship of the king's. This impolitic conduct gave a mutual disgust to the royal family and the nobility. Elizabeth was as intriguing as her predecessor queen Margaret, and it was equally ruinous to the interest of her offspring.

No doubt it was on this account that Cecily joined with the grandees, upon king Edward IV's death, in wishing to see the administration, even the kingdom, put into the hands of her only surviving son, who became king Richard III.

By the "Historic doubts" it appears that king Richard's first council was held in her house, and that he wrote her a most affectionate letter from Pontefract June 3, after he was king. The language is humble and respectful.

However, it must be supposed she was greatly shocked at his conduct, when he had thrown off the mask. When he had bastardized all king Edward IV's children, when he had imprisoned, if not destroyed, the sons of that monarch, and she saw the daughters of Edward, instead of sharing the thrones of the greatest potentates in Europe, doomed to be only the wives of some of their father's subjects;



subjects; when she saw him change the succession, so frequently, and at length saw it taken by him from the Plantagenets, she must have been extremely hurt. But all those tales about Richard's defaming her character, as well as the pretended aspersions of it by Clarence, Shaw, and Buckingham, appear totally unfounded.

All Richard's projects failed, and by his death in the battle of Bosworth she saw the crown go to an illegitimate stem of the Lancastrian line. It was, however, some satisfaction to her, no doubt, to have it settled in her issue by the marriage of king Henry VII. with her eldest granddaughter, Elizabeth, the heir of king Edward IV. She lived to see several children of this union.

This prospect of having the succession of the crown permanent in her descendants was not, however, without great alloy, for Henry, from fear and hatred to the Yorkists, proscribed every branch of her family, and which, in a few years after her death, were involved in one common ruin; this cruelty in a little time the Tudors retaliated upon themselves. Cecily's venerable age and virtues prevented the royal miser from stripping her of the rich dower she possessed.

The duchess appears to have had her general residence at Baynard castle in London, and Berkhamstead in Herts. The former was given by king Henry VI. to Richard duke of York, her husband, upon the death of Humphry duke of Gloucester. In this palace in 1458 the duke of York lodged his train of four hundred men, and all his noble partizans with their warlike suits, to deliberate about the most effectual means of asserting his claim to the crown: in this palace also his son Edward, earl of March, in 1460, with the friends of the house of York, met and voted to crown him; and here likewise Richard III. with seeming reluctance was prevailed

prevailed upon to take the kingdom. King Henry VII. obtaining it upon the duchefs's death, rebuilt it, fays Stow in his History of London, more in the manner of a palace than a caſtle. Berkhamſtead caſtle alſo came again into the crown; in this caſtle king James I. had his children brought up; it was burnt in the reign of king Charles I. and now there is ſcarce a veſtige remaining.

Though theſe were the uſual, yet they were not the only refidences of the duchefs, for in Auguſt 1475, in the reign of king Edward IV, ſhe was at the Mitred abbey of St. Bennet at Holm, in the pariſh of Horning in Norfolk; this we learn by a letter which Sir John Paſton wrote to his ſon: in it he ſays, “ My lady of York, and all her houſehold, were there, and where ſhe propoſed to reſide until the king her ſon came from beyond the ſea, and longer if ſhe liked the air there, as it was ſaid.” Edward IV. was then in France.

In the reign of king Richard III. ſhe reſided in London, but ſhe died at her caſtle of Berkhamſtead, and was buried at her own deſire at Fotheringay, in Northamptonſhire, by the duke of York, her late huſband; of whoſe ſplendid funeral Sandford gives a particular relation; it was all but regal: ſhe died in more frugal times. The chancel of the choir being deſtroyed, queen Elizabeth, her great-great-granddaughter, ordered the bodies of this illuſtrious couple to be placed in a vault prepared for that purpoſe in the church [b].

Many

[b] In “ a colleſtion of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal houſehold made in divers reigns from king Edward III. to king William and queen Mary,” printed by this ſociety, is “ a compendous recytacion compiled of the order, rules, and conſtructione of the houſe of the Righte Excellent Princeſſe Cecill, late mother unto the right noble prince, kinge Edward the Fourthe.” In which is alſo given,



Many and great were the changes this princess saw; she lived in the reigns of five sovereigns. She saw the crown of France wrested from the infant brow of king Henry VI. and she saw him deprived of that of England, restored, again dethroned, and his innocent blood cruelly spilt. She saw her son king Edward IV. crowned, dethroned, restored, and cut off by his intemperance at an early age. She saw her grandson king Edward V. upon the throne, but deprived of his sceptre, imprisoned, and murdered, by whom, and when, perhaps, she never knew. She saw her youngest son, king Richard III, usurp the regal honours, and lose them soon after, with his life, when not more than thirty-two, or at the most thirty-five years of age; and finally, she saw the enemy of her family, who had vanquished him, proclaimed by the name of king Henry VII.

In her life-time there were these queens: Joan, relict of king Henry IV. Catherine, the dowager of king Henry V. Margaret, Elizabeth, Ann, and Elizabeth; the consorts of king Henry VI, king Edward IV, king Richard III, and king Henry VII. It is difficult to say which of these illustrious females was most unfortunate. Cecily was deprived of the title of queen only by the premature death of her husband, owing to his own intemperate anger.

She saw these princes of Wales: Edward, the amiable son of the unhappy king Henry VI. Richard, duke of York, her husband, for so was he created. Edward, her grandson, the son of king Edward IV. and who afterwards was stiled king Edward V. Edward, son of king Richard III. also her grand-

given, an account how she spent her time; it does her great honour. She not only attended to prayers in her chapel, but at meals had "lectures of holy matter read to her." The orders and rules, seem to have been taken in the reign of king Henry VII.

son,



son, and Arthur, her great-grand son, the son of king Henry VII. None of these princes of Wales were fortunate, for they all came to violent deaths, except the two last, and they died at a very early age.

She lived to see all these different modes of succession settled as power or interest prevailed. Edward, prince of Wales, was recognized as successor to his father king Henry VI; but this prince was deprived of all claim to the crown, it being transferred from him, to be vested in the duke of York her husband: she saw him attainted, as has been mentioned; after which, prince Edward was restored to his birth-right, but she saw him again deprived in favour of king Edward IV, and what issue he might have; but prince Edward was again reinstated in the order of succession, with remainder over to George duke of Clarence, and his issue, in exclusion of the exiled king Edward IV. and his progeny. But all these strange projects were overthrown by the restoration of king Edward IV. when the succession was renewed to his children. Upon the death of that luxurious monarch she saw his issue bastardized, and the reversion of the crown given to Edward, prince of Wales, son of king Richard III. and after his death, she saw the usurper, her son, settle the succession upon Edward, earl of Warwick, son of the late duke of Clarence; but upon some new turn of affairs, it was taken from this grandson of hers, to be given to another; it being settled by Richard upon John de la Pole, the son of her daughter Elizabeth, by John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk: but this disposition of things was overturned soon after by the event of the battle of Bosworth, and this unfortunate prince, who became earl of Lincoln, hating the change of affairs, was slain in 1489 at the battle of Stoke, fighting against king Henry VII. in whose issue the succession at length rested.

Of the family of Nevil I cannot but observe, that it has given one queen, five duchesses, an archbishop of York, a duke of Bedford, a marquis Montacute, six earls of Westmoreland, two earls of Salisbury and Warwick, an earl of Kent, an earl of Northumberland, and an earl of Richmond, the former resigned for the higher title of marquis of Montacute, and the latter given only for life, to the first earl of Westmoreland of this family, several countesses, and a bishop of Durham. These baronies were possessed by different branches of this house, Nevil, Furnival, Talbot, Ferrers of Oversley, Seymour, Latimer, and Abergavenny, now erected into an earldom; and many of the females by marriage became baronesses. There were these great officers of the name, two lord chancellors, an earl marshal, a lord high admiral of England, two admirals of the North, and two judges. They numbered eight knights of the Garter, and ten of the Bath.

Of the Poles I must remark, that our peerages do not tell us whether Sir Richard Pole, who married Margaret countess of Salisbury, daughter of George duke of Clarence, was in any way related to John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, the husband of Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Cecily duchess of York. Of the Poles who intermarried with the Clarence branch of the royal Plantagenets, there were a cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, a baron Montague, and a knight of the Garter. Of the de la Poles, were four earls, and two dukes of Suffolk, one earl of Lincoln, a lord high chancellor, two prime ministers, one lord high admiral of England, one admiral of the North, one judge; three knights of the Garter, one of the Bath, and a banneret.

These are the observations that have occurred to me in contemplating the eventful life of Cecily duchess of York, from whom all the succeeding sovereigns of England are descended.

It

It was the period of "illuftrious unfortunates" owing to the conftant revolutions that followed faft upon each other.

Wretchednefs marked the fate of the Plantagenets and the Nevils, alike remembered for their ambition and their crimes.

The de la Poles were the only family of that time who rofe from trade to fplendour, and it even exceeded the Nevils in dignity, in power, and in misfortunes.



III. *Description of a Gold Medal struck upon the Birth of King Charles II. by the Rev. Mark Noble, F.A.S. in a Letter addressed to Wilson Aylesbury Roberts, Esq. F. A. S.*

Read May 5, 1796.

p. 20.



DEAR SIR,

HEREWITH I send you a drawing, which exhibits a gold medal struck by king Charles I. upon the birth of the prince his son, afterwards king Charles II. Upon the obverse it gives the bust of king Charles I. representing that monarch crowned, with a ruff, and a military scarf over his armour. It is inscribed CAROLVS D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRA. ET HIB. REX. The reverse shews

shews the royal infant in a superb chair, with Mars and Mercury holding a wreath over him. The motto is REDDAT AVOS. In the Exergue the date of his birth MAII 29, 1630.

The medal is the size of king Charles I.'s twenty shilling piece of gold, and weighs 6 dwts. 18 gs. It is in very fine preservation, and was shewn to me by its owner, my relation, Mr. William Beck, of Fish-street-hill, and of Hackney; judging it to be of very great value, I requested his permission to have a drawing taken of it, and his leave to shew the medal itself to this society.

It is well known how much king Charles I. loved the arts, and what care he took to have his coins more beautiful than any of his predecessors. His money is more varied in type than that of any of our sovereigns. He was extremely pleased in diversifying the type or fashion of his coins, and he excelled all our monarchs in the number and variety of his medals, which he continued occasionally to strike until the unhappy civil wars; and even after that time his coins, from their beauty, their reference to events and places, and their dates, may be almost ranked with medals.

We cannot, therefore, wonder that his majesty should in his happier days strike medals to commemorate the principal events of his reign; of these we have many.

As every thing relative to an heir apparent to the crown is peculiarly interesting both to the sovereign and his subjects, Charles I. issued a medal upon the birth of Prince Charles, and another when he was created Prince of Wales.

There is a small silver medal or jetton struck to commemorate the nativity of Prince Charles, which is common enough: it is inscribed on the obverse, IN HONOR. CARO. PRINC. MAG. BRIT. FR. ET HI. NAT. 29 MAII 1630. The reverse has the royal arms in four shields. England and France in the first, Scotland in the second, France in the third, and Ireland in the fourth. In the center is  
the

the star within the garter, and the rays issuing from it fill up the spaces between the shields. The motto is, HACTENVVS ANGLORVM NVLLI. A jetton something similar to this was struck upon the birth of the duke of York, afterwards king James II. There is also a small medal, or jetton, struck upon the baptism of prince Charles. It may here be very properly remarked, that as king Charles I. was extremely fond of having his own likenesses given in a great variety of ways, both upon canvas and upon the precious metals, so was he also of having the effigies of his queen and children represented, not only by painters, but also by engravers. We have a small gold medal which gives the king and queen on one side, and their eldest children on the other; and there is a large silver medal representing the prince of Orange and the princess Royal, struck upon their nuptials.

As the medal of gold here exhibited struck to commemorate the nativity of prince Charles, who became a great monarch, is finely preserved, and is, I presume, an unique, it is extremely valuable, for it probably was one of the very few issued, and those that were, it may be justly supposed, presented only to some few select personages, for king Charles I. was never a rich sovereign; his majesty had always more taste than wealth. His medals are generally of silver, and the few of his that are of gold are very small. This medal, which I have now described, I may therefore aver, is one of the most valuable, and every way estimable, in the English series.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Dear Sir,

Your very highly obliged,

and most obedient servant,

*Barming Parsonage, April 29, 1796.*

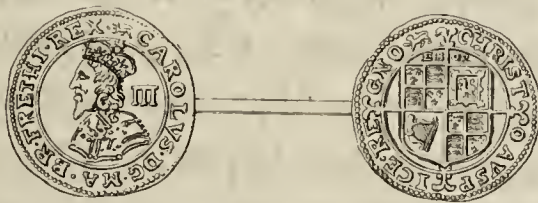
MARK NOBLE.



IV. *A Description of an unpublished Gold Coin of King Charles I. in a Letter addressed to the Rev. John Brand, one of the Secretaries to the Society of Antiquaries. By the Rev. Mark Noble, F. A. S.*

Read Nov. 10, 1796.

p. 23.



REVEREND SIR,

**P**ERMIT me through your hands to lay before the Society of Antiquaries a drawing of a gold coin of king Charles I. with some account of it, because I flatter myself it is a very curious and select piece of money, and which, I believe, no writer has ever noticed.

The coin exhibits his majesty's profile crowned with a laced band. The inscription upon the obverse is, CAROLVS D. G. MA. BR. FR. ET HI. REX. and behind the head III.

Upon the reverse is a shield of the royal arms; in the first and fourth

fourth quarters France and England quarterly ; in the second Scotland, and in the third Ireland : the bars of the shield extend to the extremities of the coin, and terminate in ornaments. Round the piece is the king's usual motto upon his silver money. CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO. Over the shield is in smaller letters EBOR, and the mint-mark upon both sides is a lion passant guardant.

This curious piece of money is of very elegant workmanship, and appears to be from a dye of that great artist Briot. Both the letters placed over the shield upon the reverse and the mint-mark evince that it was coined in the city of York ; and the numerals III. behind the king's head, that it was struck for a three shilling piece.

Snelling, in his view of the silver coin and coinage of England, acquaints us that about the year 1629 there was a mint erected in York, but he supposes that the silver-money, consisting of the penny, half-groat, threepence, groat, sixpence, shilling, half-crown, and crown, were all coined in this city in 1633, or later, and that all these sorts are very common, owing to the quantity of each being great that was issued from this mint.

The same author, speaking of the gold coin of this monarch, says, " There is not so great a variety of the gold money coined by this king as there is of the silver, he having but two mints wherein any gold was coined, which were those in the tower of London and at Oxford." The different kinds of gold money were angels, value ten shillings ; the unitie, or twenty shilling piece ; the half unitie ; double crown, or ten shilling piece ; and the British crown, or five shilling piece ; besides these he coined at Oxford the treble unitie, or three pound piece. So that there is no money of gold that was coined of less value than the British crown, or five shilling piece, that had come to the knowledge of Mr. Snelling ; nor did he know of any gold money coined but in the tower of London, at Oxford,  
and,

and, as he afterwards subjoins, Pontefract, where was struck a unitie, or twenty shilling piece of an octagonal form, like the Pontefract shilling.

It must be remarked that it is not unfrequent in modern times to strike from fine dyes pieces of money in different metals from what they are designed to be made current in; these are given to the friends of such as are favoured by the persons in office in the mint; many cabinets shew this by having such specimens. I should at first have thought this had been struck off from the dye of a silver threepence; especially, as it is exactly like that given in the plates published by this society, had the size been the same; but this drawing shews that it is much larger than the threepence given in those plates. Snelling gives types of the threepences of the York mint very different from this. The motto, which never appears upon any of king Charles I.'s gold coins, is another argument in favour of its not having been a regular coin, but a piece struck from the dyes of a silver threepence. But, as such specimens in other metals are very rarely, if ever, found so far back as this reign, and as the monarch, who struck the piece, the drawing of which I have the honour to lay before the society, coined a far greater variety of money than any other of his predecessors, or successors, I do not see any reason why it should not be looked upon as a real coin, struck in York, of the value of three shillings. If it is so, it may be pronounced very valuable, as it is, I apprehend, an unique.

All the York coins exhibit the king in armour, otherwise I should have supposed this piece coined after the commencement of the unhappy civil war. King Charles visited York in the years 1633, 1639, and 1642; probably in one of these years it was struck, and as it is of peculiar elegance, though from its smallness difficult to be done justice to in a drawing, it might be for the express



purpose of being shewn to his majesty whether it was a pattern piece for a three shilling piece, or as a fine type for a threepence.

I purchased this piece in London a few months ago, and having long since disposed of my cabinet of coins and medals, I passed it into the hands of my valuable friend Wilson-Aylesbury Roberts, Esq. F. A. S.

V. *A complete List of the Royal Navy of England in 1599. Extracted from an Original Manuscript in the Possession of Dr. Leith of Greenwich, exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries by William Latham, Esq. F. S. A.*

Read May 5, 1796.

A complete List of the Royal Navy of England in the year 1599, together with the number of Bras and Cast-Iron Ordnance, of the different species then in use, viz. *Cannon, Demi-Cannon, Culverins, Demi-Culverins, Sakers, Mynions, Falcons, Falconetts, Portpecehalls, Portpece-Chambers, Fowler-Halls, Fowler-Chambers, and Curtalls*, on board of each, or, as it is expressed in the title-page, “At the Shippes or Navy Royall lying in harborowe as well in the Roade by Chatham in the Ryver of Medwey-waters, as also upon present occasyons by Gravesend in the Ryver of Thames. And lastly, at her Highenes Shippes then serving abroad on the Seas.” Taken by the Queen’s Commission, dated at Westminster 3d of March, in the 37th Year of her Reign, and directed to William Lord Burleigh, Lord High Treasurer of England, Charles Lord Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, Henry Lord of Hunsdon, &c. &c. and subsequent Orders of the above Commissioners, the last whereof is dated April 6, 1599.

“ 1. **T**HE *Achatis*, of five bras *falcons*, six *demi-culverins* of cast-iron, and two *mynions* of the same.”

It appears from Sir William Monson’s Naval Tracts that *the falcon*

was a species of ordnance of two inches and a half bore, weight of the shot two pounds; that the *demi-culverin* was another species of four inches bore, weight of the shot nine pounds and a half. And the *mynion*, another of three inches and a half bore, weight of the shot four pounds.

“ 2. *The Adventure*, of four *culverins* of brass, eleven *demi-culverins* of the same, and five *sakers* of the same, with two brass *fowler-halls* and four brass *fowler-chambers*.” The above authority states that the *culverin* was a species of ordnance of five inches and a half bore, weight of the shot seventeen pounds and a half. *The fowler* is not described by Monson, but is mentioned by Mr. Lodge in his *Illustrations of British History*, Vol. i. p. 4. in an account of “ *Ordnance and Artillery*.” Temp. Hen. 8. as follows:

“ *Fowlers* with their apparell, with *two chambers*.”

*The facar*, according to Monson, was a piece of ordnance of three inches and a half bore, weight of shot five pounds and a half.

“ 3. *The Advantage*, of six *demi-culverins*, eight *sakers* and four *mynions*, all of cast-iron.

“ 4. *The Amity of Harwich* [a], a *drumler*, of four *demi-culverins* and *two sakers* of cast-iron.

“ 5. *The St. Andrew*, of six *culverins*, seven *demi-culverins*, three *sakers*, and one *mynion*; three *fowler-halls*, seven *fowler-chambers*,

[a] “ *Dromunder*. Navigii genus apud veteres, quod Latini inferioris ævi *Dromones* nec non *Dromundos* dixere. Vide Du Fresne, in Gloss. Et Cassiodorus. Lib. v. Epist 17. Gall. vet. *Dromond*. Angl. *Drumler*. Vid. Nicod. Lex. Angl. A Græco δρομος, cursus, derivat Spelmannus, et cum illo quicquid fere est criticorum. Solus in diversa abit Verelius, qui exinde, quod *Dromunder* apud nos *naves onerarias* tantum designare videtur, eas a Gothico *Droma*, lento gradu procedere, derivat.”

Johannis Ihre Glossarium Suo-Gothicum in Verbo.



and two *curtalls*, all of brass; with two *culverins*, fourteen *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, and one *mynton*, all of cast-iron."

*Curtalls* are not described by Sir William Monson, but are mentioned in Lodge's Illustrations of British History ut supra

[b] "*Curtowes* of metall, with all their apparell. 1."

"6. *The Antelope*, of four *culverins*, five *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, one *falcon*, two *portpeece-halls*[c], four *portpeece chambers*, two *fowler-halls*, four *fowler-chambers*, all of brass; with eight *demi-culverins* and four *sakers* of cast-iron."

*Portpieces* are not described by Sir William Monson, but are mentioned in Mr. Topham's Historical Description of a Second Antient Picture in Windsor Castle. Archaeologia, Vol. VI. p. 190.

"*Porte pieces* of Irone" with "*Shotte for porte pieces*."

Also Ibid. p. 216, as Furniture of the Harry Grace de Dieu.

For the meaning of the word "*Chambers*[d]" used here, see Mr. King's

[b] In an original MS. account of Ordnance, &c. 1 Ed. VI. in the Archives of this Society, in the account of Calis, is the following article: "*Shott of yrone for grez Curtowes* two hundred; as are the subsequent in the account of Hurst Castle.

"*Curtall Cannon* of brasse oone."

"*Curtoll Cannon* Shot of six ynches and a quarter thirty-five."

The following, Ibid. is in the account of West Cowes Castle:

"*Curtoll Cannon* of brasse furnyshed, oone.

The same entry occurs in the account of Yarmouth Castle.

In the account of East Tilbury Bulwark, Essex, we read of

"*Curtall Sacres* of yron mounted upon cariage with shodde wheles."

[c] In an original MS. containing an account of Ordnance, &c. 1 Ed. VI. in the Archives of this Society, in the account of those in Wark Castle, in Northumberland, is the following article:

"*Halls* of a *porte pece* dismounted, oone."

[d] In "England's Elizabeth by Heywood, 1632," p. 186. is the following passage, wherein the word "*Chambers*" stands alone for a piece of ordnance.

"As

King's Account of an Old Piece of Ordnance. Archaeol. Vol. V. p. 150. "Being composed of two parts, thirty or forty *chambers* may be always at hand, ready charged, and with the greatest facility adapted to the place made for receiving them."

"7. *The Advice*, of four *sakers*, two *mynions*, and three *falcons*, all of brass.

"8. *The Arke*, of four *cannon*, four *demi-cannon*, twelve *culverins*, twelve *demi-culverins*, six *sakers*, four *port piece-halls*, seven *port-piece chambers*, two *fowler-halls*, and four *fowler chambers*, all of brass."

The Ark appears to have been a First Rate. Sir William Monson, ut supra, describes the *cannon* to have been of eight inches bore, weight of shot sixty pounds, and the *demi-cannon* of six inches and three quarters bore, weight of shot thirty-three pounds and a half.

"9. *The Aunswere*, of two *fowler-halls* and four *fowler-chambers* of brass, with five *demi-culverins*, eight *sakers*, and two *mynions*, of cast-iron.

"10. *The Ayde*, of one *saker*, two *mynions*, four *falcons*, of brass; with eight *demi-culverins*, one *saker*, and two *mynions*, of cast-iron.

"11. *The Beare*, of two *sakers*, of cast-iron.

"12. *The White Beare*, of three *cannon*, six *demi-cannon*, seven *culverins*, seven *demi-culverins*, two *portpeece halls*, and seven *fowler halls*, all of brass; with five *demi-cannon*, and three *demi-culverins*, all of cast-iron.

"13. *The Charles*, of eight *sakers*, and two *falcons*, of brass; with two *fowler halls*, and four *fowler chambers* of the same.

"As she went through Temple Barre, the ordinance and *Chambers* of the Tower went off, the report whereof gave much content."

In the above-mentioned original MS. in the Archives of this Society, in the account of Calis, is the following entry:

"Great *Chambers* of yron serving no piece, eight,"



“ 14. *The Crane*, of two *demi-culverins*, two *sakers*, two *mynions*, two *fowler halls*, and three *fowler-chambers*, all of brass; with four *demi-culverins*, five *sakers*, and four *mynions*, all of cast-iron.

“ 15. *The Cygnett*, of two *falconetts* of brass, and one *falcon* of cast-iron.” Sir William Monson, ut supra, describes the *falconeti* to have been a piece of ordnance of two inches bore, weight of the shot one pound and a half.

“ 16. *The Due Repulse*, of two *cannon*, three *demi cannon*, thirteen *culverins*, fourteen *demi-culverins*, six *sakers*, two *port peece halls*, four *port peece chambers*, two *fowler halls*, and four *fowler chambers*, all of brass.

“ 17. *The Dreadnought*, of two *cannon*, four *culverins*, eleven *demi-culverins*, ten *sakers*, two *falcons*, four *fowler halls*, and eight *fowler chambers*, all of brass.

“ 18. *The Defyance*, of fourteen *culverins*, fourteen *demi-culverins*, six *sakers*, two *port-peece halls*, four *port-peece chambers*, two *fowler halls*, and four *fowler chambers*, all of brass.

“ 19. *The Daysey*, a *drumler*, of four *sakers* of cast-iron.

“ 20. *The Elizabeth Jonas*, of three *cannon*, two *demi-cannon*, eight *culverins*, four *sakers*, one *mynion*, two *falcons*, one *port-peece hall*, two *port-peece chambers*, five *fowler halls*, and ten *fowler chambers*, all of brass; with four *demi-cannon*, nine *demi-culverins*, and five *sakers*, of cast-iron.

“ 21. *The Eliza Bonaventur*, of two *cannon*, two *demi-cannon*, eleven *culverins*, fourteen *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, two *mynions*, two *port-peece halls*, four *port-peece chambers*, two *fowler halls*, and four *fowler chambers*, all of brass.

“ 22. *The Foresight*, of ten *demi-culverins*, eight *sakers*, three *mynions*, two *falcons*, (and one *Spanish*) three *fowler halls*, and six *fowler chambers*, all of brass; with four *demi-culverins* of cast-iron.

“ 23. *The*



“ 23. *The Guardland*, of sixteen *culverins*, twelve *demi-culverins*, two *sakers*, two *port-peece halls*, four *port-peece chambers*, two *fowler-halls*, and three *fowler chambers*, all of brafs; with two *demi-culverins*, and two *sakers*, of cast-iron.

“ 24. *The Hoape*, of two *cannon*, four *demi-cannon*, nine *culverins*, eleven *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, four *port-peece halls*, eight *port-peece chambers*, two *fowler halls*, and four *fowler chambers*, all of brafs.

“ 25. *The Lyon*, of four *demi-cannon*, eight *culverins*, twelve *demi-culverins*, nine *sakers*, one *falcon*, eight *fowler halls*, and sixteen *fowler chambers*, all of brafs; with two *demi-culverins* of cast-iron.

“ 26. *The Marie Rose*, of four *demi-cannon*, ten *culverins*, seven *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, three *port-peece halls*, seven *port-peece chambers*, all of brafs; with one *culverin*, and three *demi-culverins* of cast-iron.

“ 27. *The Mere Honora*, of four *demi-cannon*, fifteen *culverins*, sixteen *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, and two *fowler-halls*, all of brafs.

“ 28. *The St. Mathew*, of four *cannon*, four *demi-cannon*, sixteen *culverins*, eight *demi-culverins*, two *sakers*, three *mynions*, and two *falcons*, all of brafs; with six *demi-culverins*, two *sakers*, and one *mynion*, of cast-iron.

“ 29. *The Mercury*, or *Galley Mercury*, of one *culverin*, one *saker*, and four *fowler chambers*, all of brafs.

“ 30. *The Marlin*, of three *falcons* of brafs, and four *falcons* of cast-iron.

“ 31. *The Moone*, of four *sakers*, four *mynions*, and one *falcon*, all of brafs.

“ 32. *The Nonpareille*, of two *cannon*, three *demi-cannon*, seven *culverins*, eight *demi-culverins*, twelve *sakers*, four *port-peece halls*, eight *port-peece chambers*, four *fowler halls*, and eight *fowler chambers*, all of brafs.

“ 33. *The Quittance*, of four *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, two *fowler halls*,

*halls*, and four *fowler chambers*, all of *brass*; with two *culverins*, two *demi-culverins*, three *sakers*, and four *mynions*, all of *cast-iron*.

“ 34. *The Rainbowe*, of six *demi-cannon*, twelve *culverins*, seven *demi-culverins*, and one *saker*, all of *brass*.

“ 35. *The Skoute*, of four *sakers* and six *falcons*, all of *brass*.

“ 36. *The Swift-suer*, of two *cannon*, five *culverins*, eight *demi-culverins*, five *sakers*, two *falcons*, four *fowler halls*, and eight *fowler chambers*, all of *brass*; with four *demi-culverins*, and three *sakers*, of *cast-iron*.

“ 37. *The Spye*, of four *sakers*, two *mynions*, and three *falcons*, all of *brass*.

“ 38. *The Swallowe*, of two *mynions*, one *falcon*, two *port-peece chambers*, and three *fowler chambers*; all of *brass*.

“ 39. *The Sonne*, of one *demi-culverin* and four *falcons*, all of *brass*.

“ 40. *The Triumphe*, of four *cannon*, three *demi-cannon*, seventeen *culverins*, eight *demi-culverins*, six *sakers*, one *port-peece hall*, four *port-peece chambers*, five *fowler-halls*, and twenty *fowler chambers*, all of *brass*.

“ 41. *The Tremontana*, of twelve *sakers*, seven *mynions*, and two *falcons*, all of *brass*.

“ 42. *The Teyger*, of six *demi-culverins*, fourteen *sakers*, and two *falcons*, all of *cast-iron*.

“ 43. *The Vauntguard*, of four *demi-cannon*, fourteen *culverins*, eleven *demi-culverins*, and two *sakers*, all of *brass*.

“ 44. *The Victory*, of four *culverins*, twelve *demi-culverins*, nine *sakers*, seven *fowler halls*, thirteen *fowler chambers*, all of *brass*; with eight *culverins*, and six *demi-culverins*, of *cast-iron*.

“ 45. *The Wasfspight*, of two *cannon*, two *demi-cannon*, thirteen *culverins*, ten *demi-culverins*, and two *sakers*, all of *brass*.”

## A T T E S T A T I O N :

“ For the remayne viewed and taken at Her Majesties Shippes lying in harborowe as well in the road by Chatham within the river of Medway waters, as also by Gravesende or other place within the ryver of Thames. Wee who receaved order as aforefaide for the accomplishment of that duty doe witnes the contents thereof by subscripc̃on of o<sup>r</sup> names.

“ Step. Rislefden, John Conyers, Jhon Lee, J. Linewraye, Fra. Gofton, G. Hegge.

“ Concerning the testimonial and acknowledgmen<sup>t</sup> of so muche as in this booke is avouched then to remayne in fuche her Highenes Shippes as were ymployed in service on the seas, Wee the officers of her Majesties Ordinance, and tha foresaid John Conyers and Frauncs Gofton, her Ma<sup>ts</sup> auditors of the preste whoe have perused the Indentures of the Mr. Gouners of those shippes in that behalfe have hereunto subscribed o<sup>r</sup> names.

“ Step. Rislefden, J. Linewraye, Jhon Lee, Jo. Conyers, Fra. Gofton, G. Hegge.”



VI. *Dissertation on the Life and Writings of Mary, an Anglo-Norman Poetess of the 13th Century, by Mons. La Rue. Communicated by Francis Douce, Esq. F. A. S. in a Letter to the Rev. John Brand, Secretary.*

Read Jan. 12, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE the honour of communicating to the Society a translation of a letter addressed to me by the Abbé La Rue, upon a very important branch of English literature.

The attention with which it has already honoured the labours of this ingenious and learned writer, will not, I trust, be diminished upon the present occasion.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

very faithfully yours,

Gower Street, Dec. 2, 1796.

FRANCIS DOUCE.

*Translation of a Letter to F. Douce, Esq. F. A. S. upon the Life and Writings of Mary, an Anglo-Norman Poetess of the 13th Century.*

SIR,

IT is with extreme pleasure that I continue the pursuit of my inquiries into the literary history of the Norman and Anglo-Norman *Trouveurs*; and as no one is better qualified than yourself to appreciate this subject, I have done myself the honour of addressing to you my researches upon these ancient poets.

Mary may, with great propriety, be regarded as the Sappho of her age. Unfortunately she has scarcely mentioned any circumstance relating to herself! but she made so considerable a figure amongst the Anglo-Norman *Trouveurs*, that she may very fairly lay claim to the minutest investigation of whatever concerns her memory.

We are informed by this lady that she was born in France, but she has not mentioned the province that gave her birth, nor the reasons of her going to England. As she appears, however, to have resided in that country at the commencement of the thirteenth century, we may reasonably conclude that she was a native of Normandy. Philip Augustus having made himself master of that Province in 1204, many Norman families, whether from regard to affinity, from motives of adventure, or from attachment to the English government, went over to Great Britain, and there established themselves. Some one of these reasons might have possibly induced Mary to retire into that country, or to have followed her family thither.

IF

If this opinion be not adopted, it will be impossible to fix upon any other province of France, under the dominion of the English, as the birth-place of Mary, because her language is neither that of Gascony nor Poitou, &c.; she appears, however, to have been acquainted with the *Bas Breton*, or Armoric tongue, whence it may be inferred that she was born in Bretagne. The duke of that province was then earl of Richmond in England; many of his subjects were in possession of knights fees in that honour; and Mary might have belonged to one of these families. She was, besides, extremely well versed in the literature of this province, and we shall have occasion to remark that she borrowed much from the works of the writers of that country in the composition of her own.

If, however, a preference should be given to the first opinion, we must suppose that Mary got her knowledge both of the Armoric and English languages in Great Britain. She was, at the same time, equally mistress of Latin, and from her application to these several languages, we must take it for granted that she possessed a readiness, a capacity, and even a certain rank in life, that afforded time and means to attain them. But she has said nothing that will throw any light upon her private life, and has even concealed her family name. The kingdom in which she was born, and her christian name, form the total of what she has left relating to her. I am ignorant if this lady had much self-love, but I doubt very much whether, in taking up her pen, she seriously thought about posterity; it should rather seem that she was solicitous to be personally known only at the time she lived in. Hence we find in her works those general denominations, those vague expressions, which discourage the curious antiquary, or compel him to enter into dry and laborious discussions, the result of which often turns out to be little more than conjecture. In short, the silence or the modesty of the lady has contributed, in a great degree, to conceal from us the  
names



names of those illustrious persons whose patronage her talents deserved. In the course, however, of my remarks upon her works, I shall endeavour to find out who were her Mecænaſes.

The first poems of Mary are a collection of Lays in French verse, forming various histories and gallant adventures of our valiant knights, and, according to the usage of those times, they are generally remarkable for some singular, and often marvellous catastrophe. These Lays are in the British Museum amongst the Harleian MSS. No. 978. They constitute the largest, and at the same time most ancient specimen of Anglo-Norman poetry of this kind that has been handed down to us.

The romances of chivalry amongst the old Welsh and Armoric Britons appear to have furnished Mary with the subjects of these various lays; not that the manuscripts of those people were continually before her when she composed them; but, as she herself has told us, depending upon an excellent memory, she sometimes committed them to verse after hearing them recited only, and at others she composed them from what she had read in the Welsh and Armoric MSS.

Plufurs en ai oi conter,  
Nes voil laisser ne oblier, &c. [a]  
Plufurs le me unt conte et dit  
Et jeo l'ai trové en escrit, &c. [b]

Our authoreſs has informed us that she hesitated a long time before she devoted herself to this species of literature; that oftentimes she began to translate some Latin story into the *Romance* language, but perceived it necessary to desist, from the circumstance, that the same ground had already been trodden by so many writers. She therefore abandoned her design, and confined herself to the sub-

[a] Prologue des Lais de Marie.

[b] Lai du chevre-feuille.

jects of the Welsh and Armoric lays, and the event justifies the choice she had made. To the singularity of such a measure was owing its celebrity. By treating of love, and the various emotions which it excites; of chivalry, and the acts of valour which beauty inspires in its professors, she was certain of attuning her lyre to the feelings of the age, and consequently of insuring success. Upon this account her lays were extremely well received by the people. Denis Pyramus, an Anglo-Norman poet, and the contemporary of Mary, informs us that they were heard with pleasure in all the castles of the English barons, but that they were particularly relished by the women of her time. He even praises them himself, and this from the mouth of a rival could not but have been sincere and well deserved, since our equals are always the best judges of our merit [c].

Inasmuch as Mary was a foreigner, she expected to be criticised with more severity, and therefore applied herself with great care to the due polishing of her works. Besides, she thought, as she says herself, that the chief reward of a poet consists in first perceiving the superiority of his own performance, and the claims to public esteem which it deserves. Hence the unremitting attention to the one for the purpose of laying claim to the other; hence the repeated efforts to attain so honourable a distinction, and the constant apprehension of that chagrin which results from disappointment, and which she has expressed with so much natural simplicity.

Ki de bone mateire traite,

Mult li peise si bien n'est faite, &c. [d]

She has dedicated her Lays to some king whom she thus addresses in her prologue :

[c] Pyramus Vie de St. Edmond Bibl. Cotton. Domit. A. XI.

[d] Prolog. des Lais de Marie.



En le honur de vos nobles reis,  
 Ki tant estes preux et curteis,  
 M'entremis de Lais assembler,  
 Par rime faire et reconter ;  
 En mon quoer pensoe et diseie,  
 Sire, ke vos presentereie,  
 Si vos les plaißt a recevoir,  
 Mult me ferez grant joie avoir  
 A tuz jurs mais en ferrai lié, &c. [*e*]

But who is this monarch to whom Mary addresses her dedication? This was well known in her time, but in ours we can only conjecture. Let us endeavour, then, in the best manner we are able, to discover him.

1. First, then, we may perceive in Mary's prologue her apprehension of the envy which her success might excite against her in a strange country: for this reason she could not have written in France. 2. When at a loss for some single syllable she sometimes intermixes in her verses words that are pure English, when the French word would not have suited the measure.

*Fire et chaundeles alumez.*

It should seem, therefore, that she wrote more particularly for the English, since her lines contain words that essentially belong to their language, and not at all to the *Romance*. 3. She dedicates her Lays to a king who understood English, because she takes care to translate into that tongue all the Welsh and Armoric proper names that she was obliged to introduce. Thus in the Lay of *Bisclaveret*, she says the English translate this name by that of *Garwaf*, (Werewolf); in that of *Laustic*, that they call it *Nihtgale*, (Nightingale); and in that of *Chevrefeuille*, *Gotelef*, (Goatleaf), &c.

[*e*] Prolog. des Lais de Marie.



It is certain, then, that Mary composed for a king who understood English. 4. She tells us that she had declined translating Latin histories into *Romance*, because, so many others having been thus occupied, her name would have been confounded with the multitude, and her labours unattended with honour. Now this circumstance perfectly corresponds with the reign of Henry III. when such a number of Normans and Anglo-Normans had for more than half a century translated from the Latin so many Romances of chivalry, and especially those of the Round Table, which we owe to the kings of England. 5. Fauchet and Pasquin inform us that Mary lived about the middle of the 13th century, and this period exactly coincides with the reign of that prince [f]: 6. Denis Pyramus, an Anglo-Norman poet, speaks of Mary as an author whose person was as much beloved as her writings, and who, therefore, must have lived in his own time. Now it is known that this poet wrote under Henry III.

Kar mult l'ayment, si l'unt mult cher  
Cunte, Barun, et Chevaler,  
Et si en aiment mult l'escrit, &c. [g]

For these consolidated reasons I think that it was Henry III. to whom Mary dedicated her Lays. This opinion could only be combated by maintaining that it was rather a king of France of whom she speaks, which king must have been Louis VIII. or St. Louis his son. But this alternative will not bear the slightest examination; for how indeed could it be necessary to explain Welsh and Armoric words to a French king in the English language? How could the writer permit herself to make use of English words in many parts of her work which would most probably be unintelligible to that prince, and most certainly would be so to the greatest part of his subjects? It is true that she sometimes explains them in Ro-

[f] Œuvres de Fauchet, p. 579. Recherches de la France, l. 8. c. 1.

[g] Pyramus loco citato.

mance, but not always; and when, upon the other hand, she makes a constant practice of translating them into English, she proves to what sort of readers she was principally addressing herself, and that the monarch to whom she inscribed her dedication was Henry III.

Mary's Lays are twelve in number.

The first is the Lay of *Guigemar*, Son of Oridial, Lord of Leon in Lower Brittany. Of this monsieur le Grand gives an analysis in his Tales of the 12th and 13th Centuries [h]. It consists of 860 verses.

The second is that of *Quitain*, Lord of Nauns, or Nantois, and contains 314 verses.

The third is the Lay of *Fresne*. This is the history of the Son of a Bas-Breton Knight, who, although legitimate, is left exposed under an ash-tree as a bastard. It consists of 550 verses.

The fourth is that of *Bisclaveret*, and relates the history of a Bas-Breton Knight who is changed into a Warwolf. It has 284 verses.

The fifth is the Lay of *Lanval*, one of the Knights of king Arthur's Round Table. The queen of this monarch having falsely accused Lanval of insulting her beauty, Arthur causes the knight to be tried for the offence at Cardiff. At the instant that he was about to be unjustly condemned, a benevolent fairy comes to his assistance, delivers, and conveys him to the Isle of Avalon. This poem contains 646 verses. It occurs separately in the Cotton library, Vesp. B. XIV. Monsieur le Grand has translated it into prose amongst his *Fabliaux* [i]; and there is an ancient English metrical version of it by Thomas Chestre [k].

The sixth is the Lay of the Two Lovers. It is the story of two persons who perish at the same instant, victims to their own love

[b] *Fabliaux*, Vol. IV. p. 110.

[i] *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 92.

[k] *Bibl. Cotton. Calig. A. II.*



and the mad caprices of a parent. The subject of this romance appears to have been taken from the ecclesiastical history of Normandy : there is still remaining near Rouen the priory of the Two Lovers, which tradition reports to have been founded by the father on the very same spot where the lovers perished, and over the tomb which contained them. This piece consists of 242 verses.

The seventh is the Lay of *Yvenec*, a Bas-Breton Knight, the son of Muldumarec, lord of Carvent, and has 552 verses.

The eighth is that of *Laustic*. This is likewise the romantic history of a Bas-Breton Knight, in which a nightingale forms a considerable character. It contains 158 verses, and has been translated into English metre under the title of the *Nythingale* [1].

The ninth is the Lay of *Milon*, a British Knight, in 536 verses.

The tenth is that of *Chaitivel*. This is the story of a Lady of Nantes, beloved by four knights, three of whom are slain in a tournament, and the fourth dangerously wounded. It is the latter who is called *Chaitivel*, or the *Unhappy*. It consists of 224 verses.

The eleventh is the Lay of *Chevrefeuille*. It is an incident taken from the Amours of Tristan de Leonnois with the wife of king Marc his uncle, and contains 118 verses.

Lastly, the twelfth is the Lay of *Elidus*, a Bas-Breton Knight, and is the longest of all Mary's Lays, consisting of 1184 verses.

It is to be regretted that the limits of this dissertation will not admit of my giving some of these poems entire. The smaller ones are in general of much importance as to the knowledge of ancient chivalry. Their author has described manners with a pencil at once faithful and pleasing; she arrests the attention of her readers by the subjects of her stories, by the interest which she skilfully blends in them, and by the simple and natural language in which she relates them. In spite of

[1] Bibl. Cotton. Calig. A. II.



her rapid and flowing style, nothing is forgotten in her details, nothing escapes her in her descriptions. With what grace has she depicted the charming deliverer of the unhappy Lanval? Her beauty is equally impressive, engaging, and seductive; an immense crowd follows but to admire her; the white palfrey on which she rides seems proud of his fair burthen; the greyhound which follows her, and the falcon that she carries, announce her nobility. How splendid and commanding her appearance, and with what accuracy is the costume of the age she lived in observed? But Mary did not only possess a most refined taste, she had also to boast of a mind of sensibility. The English muse seems to have inspired her; all her subjects are sad and melancholy; she appears to have designed to melt the hearts of her readers, either by the unfortunate situation of her hero, or by some truly afflicting catastrophe. Thus she always speaks to the soul, calls forth all its feelings, and very frequently throws it into the utmost consternation.

Fauchet was unacquainted with the lays of Mary, for he only mentions her fables [m]. La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier have done nothing more than cite this latter work [n]. But what is more astonishing, Monsieur le Grand, who published many of her lays, has not ascribed them all to her. He had probably never met with a complete collection of them like that in the British Museum, but only some of those that had been separately transcribed; and, in that case, he could not have seen the preface to them, in which Mary has named herself.

The second work of our poetess consists of a collection of fables, generally called *Æsopian*, which she has translated into French verse.

In the prologue to this work she informs her readers that she

[m] Œuvres de Fauchet, p. 579.

[n] Bibl. Franc. &c. par Juvigny, Tom. II. p. 89. Tom. V. p. 23.

would not have engaged in it but for the sollicitation of a man who was the *flower of chivalry and courtesy*, and whom, at the conclusion of her work, she has called *Earl William*.

Por amor le conte Guillaume,  
Le plus vaillant de cest royaume,  
Mentremis de cest livre faire,  
Et de l'Anglois en Romans traire, &c. [o]

Monsieur le Grand, in his preface to some of Mary's fables which he has published in French prose, informs us that this person was *Earl William de Dampierre* [p]; but he should have given some authority for this opinion, for want of which we must treat it as a mere conjecture. If, on the one hand, there seems to be little that he could have urged in its defence, it is by no means difficult on the other to find reasons to confute it.

William, lord of Dampierre in Champagne, had in himself no right whatever to the title of Earl. During the 13th century this dignity was by no means assumed indiscriminately and at pleasure by French gentlemen; it was generally borne by whoever was the owner of a province, and sometimes of a great city, constituting an earldom; such were the earldoms of Flanders, of Artois, of Anjou, of Paris, &c. It was then that these great vassals of the crown had a claim to the title of Earl, and accordingly assumed it [q]. Now the territory of Dampierre was not in this predicament during the 13th century; it was only a simple lordship belonging to the lords of that name [r].

It is true, indeed, that William de Dampierre married, after the year 1223, Margaret of Flanders; but she did not bring him the

[o] Conclusion of Mary's Fables.

[p] Fabliaux du xii. and xiii. siecle, Vol. iv. p. 321.

[q] Dictionn. Raisonné de Diplomatique Verbo *Comtes*.

[r] Martiniere Dict. Geographique, V. Dampierre.



earldom of Flanders; it was only in 1246 that she came into its possession, and then her husband William was dead [s]. He therefore never acquired the title of Earl: his son Guy de Dampierre was not associated to the government of Flanders before 1251, and did not become an earl till 1280 [t].

Convinced, as I am, that Mary did not compose her fables in France, but in England, it is in this latter kingdom that the earl William is to be fought for; and luckily, the encomium she has left upon him is of such a nature as to excite an opinion that he was William Longsword, natural son of Henry II, and created earl of Salisbury and Romare by Richard Cœur de Lion. She calls him *the flower of chivalry, the most valiant man in the kingdom*, and these features perfectly characterize William Longsword, so renowned for his prowess [u]. The praise she bestows on him expresses, with great fidelity, the sentiments that were entertained of this prince by his contemporaries, and which were become so general, that, for the purpose of making his epitaph, it should seem that the simple elogy of Mary would have sufficed.

Flos comitum, Willelmus obit, stirps regia, longus  
Ensis vaginam capit habere brevem [w].

This earl died in 1226 [x], so that Mary must have written her fables before that time. The brilliant reputation she had acquired by her Lays had, no doubt, determined William to solicit a similar translation of *Æsopian Fables*, which then existed in the English language. She, who in her Lays had painted the manners of her age with so much nature and fidelity, would find no difficulty in

[s] Art de verifier les dates, chap. des Contes de Flandres.

[t] Ibid.

[u] Sandford's Genealogical History of the Kings of England, p. 114.

[w] Ibid. p. 116, and M. Paris, p. 317.

[x] Sandford, Ibid.

succeeding



succeeding in this kind of apologue. Both require that penetrating glance which can distinguish the different passions of mankind; can seize upon the varied forms which they assume, and, marking the objects of their attention, discover at the same moment the means they employ to attain them. This faculty Mary had developed in her first work, and it was therefore to be supposed that no diminution of it would appear in her second. For this reason her fables are written with all that acuteness of mind that penetrates the very inmost recesses of the human heart; and at the same time with that beautiful simplicity so peculiar to the ancient romance language, and which causes me to doubt whether La Fontaine has not rather imitated our author than the fabulists either of Rome or of Athens. It must, at all events, be admitted that he could not find in the two latter the advantages which the former offered him. Mary wrote in French, and at a time when that language, yet in its infancy, could boast of nothing but simple expressions, artless and agreeable turns, and on all occasions a natural and unpremeditated phraseology. On the contrary, Æsop and Phædrus, writing in Latin, could not supply the French fabulist with any thing more than the subject matter and ideas, whilst Mary, at the same time that she furnished him with both, might besides have hinted expression, manner, and even rhyme. Let me add, that through the works of La Fontaine will be found scattered an infinite number of words in our ancient language, which are at this day unintelligible without a commentary.

There are in the British Museum three MS. copies of Mary's Fables. The first is in the Cotton library, Vesp. B. XIV.; the second in the Harleian, N<sup>o</sup> 4333; and the third in the same collection, N<sup>o</sup> 978.

In the first, part of Mary's prologue is wanting, and the transcriber

scriber has entirely suppressed the conclusion of her work. This MS. contains only 61 fables.

The second has all the prologue, and the conclusion. It has 83 fables.

The third is the completest of all, and contains 104 fables.

Monsieur le Grand says that he had seen four MSS. of these fables in the libraries of Paris, but all different as to the number of them. He cites one in the library of St. Germain des Prés as containing 66 fables; and another in the Royal library, N<sup>o</sup> 7615, with 102 [y]. As he has said nothing about the other MSS. it is to be supposed that he has purposely mentioned that which had the greatest number of fables, and that which had the least. Under this idea the Harleian MS. N<sup>o</sup> 978, is the completest of all that have been yet cited.

But whence have arisen these various readings? Did Mary publish originally but a part of her work? Did she afterwards add supplements? or were transcribers permitted to make selections of her fables, to retain those which they liked best, and to reject the others? The latter opinion seems the most probable, for we perceive that the transcriber of the Cotton MS. has entirely omitted the lines which Mary had placed at the end of her work. We must, therefore, conclude that these persons, copying oftentimes merely on their own account, gave themselves but little trouble about posterity; and that, in this case, there were formerly many imperfect MSS. as at present we find mutilated and spurious editions of printed books.

Monsieur le Grand assigns another reason. He contends that the transcribers took the liberty of inserting many strange pieces

[y] Fabliaux, Vol. IV. p. 330.



amongst the fables of Mary, and particularly the Lay of *the Bird*, the Fabliaux of the *mowed meadow*, of *the woman who drowned herself*, &c. To prove his point he should have informed us who were the real authors of these stories, and, not having done this, his mere assertion is not entitled to much attention. As they are found, however, in the English MSS. before cited, it must be argued against every appearance of probability, that the French and English transcribers have entered into a combination to alter, or rather increase the number of the fables; but as we find a perfect correspondence in this respect in the copies of both nations, we are bound to regard the arguments of Monsieur le Grand as absolutely chimerical. Let me be permitted to ask, since when has the insertion of *fabliaux*, or little stories in a collection of fables, amounted to a proof of interpolation in the MS? We must, in this case, consider all the fables of Æsop and of Phædrus as having been altered, and throw aside, as foreign to these authors, every piece of the kind which at present contributes to the pleasure of their readers, with which they have themselves embellished their works, and which no one has hitherto imagined to have been falsely ascribed to them. Let us reject such a rule of criticism, as false as it is novel, and let us believe that Mary translated the *fabliaux* which we find amongst her fables, as well as the fables themselves. She had found both in her English model, and equally decorated them with the charms of the poetry of the time she lived in.

But Monsieur le Grand does not believe in the collection of English fables; he affirms positively, that this was no more than a sort of *literary quackery*, very much practised at that time, of announcing a work as translated from the Latin or the English [z].

With respect to the first of these languages, I must admit that

[z] Fabliaux, Vol. IV. p. 329.



all our ancient writers of romance, and more especially of those that relate to the Round Table, affirm their works to be translations from the Latin; but it is a great question amongst the learned whether these original Latin compositions ever existed; and as it has never yet been very profoundly agitated, this decision of Monsieur le Grand appears to be a little too assuming. It is, at the same time, the more hazardous, as there would be little difficulty in producing many of the originals which have been used by the ancient *trouveurs*, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's Brute, the history of Charlemagne by the false Turpin, the siege of Troy by Dares, &c. But let us quit, as foreign to our subject, every discussion of this kind, and endeavour to prove that the fables of Mary were really translated from a collection that existed in her time in the English language, under the title of *The Fables of Æsop*.

I. In examining the manner in which Mary speaks of herself, we shall perceive that her name was not *Marie de France*, as Monsieur le Grand has stated, doubtless after la Croix du Maine and du Verdier [a], who followed Fauchet [b]. She only says that her name is *Mary*, and that *she is from France*.

Al finement de cest escrit,  
 Me nomerai por remembrance,  
 Marie ai non, si suis de France, &c. [c]

If we consider well the latter verse, there will be no difficulty in perceiving that Mary wrote in England. Indeed, it was formerly a very common thing for authors to say that they were of such a city, and even to assume the name of it. This we can easily conceive; or even that, when writing in Latin, they should state themselves either natives of England or of France. But when an

[a] Fabliaux, Vol. IV. p. 329.

[b] Bibl. Franc. Vol. V. p. 23; and Œuvres de Fauchet, p. 579.

[c] Conclusion of Mary's Fables.

author writes in France, and in the language of the country, he does not say that *he is of France*. Now this precaution on the part of Mary implies that she wrote in a foreign country, the greater part of whose inhabitants spoke her native language; and where shall we find the French tongue more used at that time than in England? In order, therefore, to avoid being confounded with the writers of that island, or to give a greater consequence to her work, she has stated herself a native of France. Guernes de Pont St. Maxence, who wrote at Canterbury in the 12th century, had been equally attentive to announce himself as a Frenchman, that his work might be regarded as written in a purer and correcter style.

II. Monsieur le Grand advances, without proof, that during the 13th century it was the uniform practice of the French poets to announce their works as translated from the English: an assertion so positive might, at least, have been accompanied with something like proof to support it; for I confess, that after all my researches upon this subject, I have not been able to discover more than two poets who profess to have translated from English works. The first is Geoffrey Gaimar, who in the 12th century composed the history of the Anglo-Saxon kings in French verse; but he not only contents himself with citing the English and Welsh MSS. that he used, but even names those persons who had lent him them. He relates also with extreme minuteness the difficulties he had found in procuring them. Now to call such details as these by the name of *quackery*, is to deny even the existence of the works which he says he had borrowed, and which are certainly known to have existed at that time. In a word, it is throwing a scepticism upon the testimony of ancient writers, equally dangerous and unjust.

The second poet who has mentioned the circumstance of having translated from English works is Mary herself, who, in speaking of Æsop, informs us that a king of England,



Le translata puis en Engleis,  
Et je l'ai rimeé en Franceis, &c.

Now at present to deny the existence of this English translation is, in the first place, to suppose that it is inconsistent for the English to have had a collection of Æsopian fables in their language during the 13th century; and where is the man of letters that would venture, I do not say to maintain, but even to hazard such an opinion? In the next place, it is formally contradicting a woman who assures us that she translated her fables from an English original, who glories in it, and who must have felt a much higher gratification in stating herself to be the author of them if she really had been so.

III. If her own testimony should be, nevertheless, thought insufficient, it might easily be corroborated by that of the MS. in the Royal library, 15 A.VII. which contains a great part of the Æsopian fables in Latin, and in which it is expressly mentioned, that they had been translated into English. Being written in the 13th century, it is of the same time as Mary; and the transcriber, writing only in Latin, cannot be accused of quackery, when he simply mentions the English version which then existed, in an historical point of view.

IV. If, in the last place, we examine the fables of Mary themselves, we shall discover in them internal evidence of their being translated from the English. In the first place, mention is made of counties and their judges, of the great assemblies held there for the administration of justice, the king's writs that were issued, &c. &c. Now what other kingdom besides England was at that time divided into counties? What other country possessed similar establishments? But Mary has done more; in her French translation she has preserved many expressions in the English original; such as



*welke*, in the fable of the eagle, the crow, and the tortoise; *wite-cocs*, in that of the three wishes; *grave*, in that of the sick lion; *werbes and wibets*, in that of the battle of the flies with other animals; *wassel*, in that of the mouse and the frog, &c.

But this English collection of Æsopian fables presents difficulties infinitely more important and worthy of our attention than the conjectures of Monsieur le Grand.

1. Was it a faithful translation from the Greek fabulist? 2. By whom was it made? 3. Has Mary followed this version literally? I am aware that upon first view these questions may appear foreign to the object of this dissertation; but their discussion will prove that they are connected with the literary history of the Normans and Anglo-Normans; that they relate to the private history of Mary; and that they are not, therefore, impertinent in an account of this author.

1. As to whether the English translation made use of by Mary was a literal version from the Greek fabulist?

I believe that the largest collection of the works of Æsop is that which Nevelet published at Frankfort in 1610, and which was afterwards reprinted in 1660. Both these editions contain 297 fables. Now we have already seen that the completest MS. of Mary's translation has but 104, out of which 31 only are Æsop's. So that she did not translate this poet entirely, because the English version that she had before her was not a true and complete translation of that fabulist; but a compilation from different authors, in which some of his fables had been inserted. Nevertheless Mary has intitled her work "*Cy Commence li Esope*;" she repeats, also, that she had turned this fabulist into Romance language. Mary, therefore, imagined that she was really translating Æsop; but her original had the same title; and I am the more convinced of this, because, in the Royal MS. before cited, which contains a collection.

collection of Æsopian fables, there are but 56. According to the introduction, they had been originally translated into Latin prose, and then into English prose; and in this MS. as well as in Mary's, there are many fables and *fabliaux* ascribed to Æsop which never could have been composed by him.

Again, if we compare the fables which generally pass for Æsop's, with those written by Mary, we shall perceive that the translation of the latter could never have been regarded as a literal version of the former. She is a great deal more particular than Æsop; her moralizations are not the same. In a word, I think she comes nearer to Phædrus than to the Greek writer. To be convinced of this, let the subjects of the Roman fabulist and those of Mary be compared together, and it will be immediately perceived that the latter had always before her eyes the works of the former, and that she has even literally translated the fables she has imitated.

It will, no doubt, be answered that the works of Phædrus have only been known since the end of the 16th century. This I admit, but am not the less persuaded that Mary was better acquainted with Phædrus than with Æsop. It will, moreover, be contended that she has herself declared that the English version which served her as a model was a translation from the Greek. To this I reply, first, that Phædrus's fables may very properly be stiled *Æsopian*, as he has himself called them:

Æsopus auctor quam materiam reperit,  
Hanc ego polivi versibus senariis[*f*].

and secondly, that although Mary possessed the fire, the imagination, and the genius of a poet, she nevertheless had not the criticism or erudition of a man of letters. For example; she informs us, that before her fables were translated into English, they had al-

[*f*] Phædr. Prolog. Lib. I.



ready been turned from Greek into Latin by Æsop [g]. This instance will suffice to prove that she had not even the skill of her profession. She then gives the fables of an ox who assisted at mafs, of a wolf that keeps lent, of a monk disputing with a peasant, &c. Now, is it possible, even with the most ordinary learning, that she should be ignorant that Æsop could know nothing of lent, monks, or maffes? What, then, it will be asked, was this English version that Mary translated into French? I am very far from pretending to give a decisive answer to a question so embarrassing; but I believe that a few remarks may be made which will, at least, tend to throw some light upon it.

The character which Æsop left behind him had become so renowned, that many authors, during the middle ages, published collections of fables under his name; and in order that these might the more easily be considered as belonging to him, they took care to insert a greater or less number of what he had composed.

Amongst these compilers we find the names of Romulus, Accius, Bernardus, Salon, and many others anonymous. The first is the most celebrated; he has addressed his fables to his son Tiberinus; they are written in Latin prose, sixty in number, and many of them are founded upon those of Æsop and Phædrus. Rimicius published them at the end of the 15th century, and Frederic Nilant gave an edition in 1709 at Leyden, with some curious and interesting notes. Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Latina*, says, that these sixty fables are more than 500 years old [h]. I have already mentioned that there is a MS. of them in the Royal library in the British Museum, 15 A. VII. which was written in the 13th century, and contains only 56 fables. They are said, in the preface, to have been translated out of Greek into Latin by the emperor Romulus. Mary likewise

[g] Preface to Mary's Fables.

[h] Fabric. *Bibl. Latin. Lib. II. C. 3.*

mentions

mentions this Romulus, and gives him the same title. After having remarked, with how much advantage learned men might occupy themselves in extracting from the works of the ancient philosophers, proverbs, fables, and the morals they contained, for the purpose of instructing men, and training them to virtuous actions, she adds that the emperor had very successfully pursued this plan in order to teach his son how to conduct himself with propriety through life [i]. Vincent de Beauvais, a contemporary of Mary, speaks likewise of this Romulus and his fables [k]; and lastly, Fabricius informs us that this author has very much imitated Phædrus, and often preserved even his expressions [l].

But, after all, who is this Romulus that is thus invested with the title of emperor? Is it the last Roman emperor of this name who is likewise called Augustulus; or is it Romulus the grammarian, of whom some writers have made mention? Let us dispense with this discussion as at once idle and useless, inasmuch as all inquiry into the subject can only terminate in vague conjecture. If amidst this impenetrable obscurity, I were compelled to form an opinion, I should contend that these fables were the work of some monk of the 11th or 12th century, and should endeavour to prove it by the rites of the Roman catholic worship which he several times alludes to, and by entire passages of the Vulgate which he very frequently inserts. According, however, to the odd taste of his time, he was desirous of giving greater vogue to his work by ascribing it to a real character, but who, nevertheless, had never thought about it. As to what remains, it is enough to know that in the time of Mary there actually did exist a collection of fables called Æsopian, and published under the name of Romulus; that this author, whether real or

[i] Preface to the Fables of Mary.

[k] Vincent. Bellovac. Lib. IV. c. 2.

[l] Fabric. loco citato.

imaginary,



imaginary, has very much imitated Phædrus ; that these Latin fables had been translated into English ; that, without doubt, those of some other unknown writers were added to them ; and, finally, that from this latter version Mary made her translation into French verse.

II. Who was the author of the English translation ?

In a MS. of the fables of Mary, cited by Duchesne and Menage, it is said that this version was the work of king *Mires* [*m*]. The Harleian MS. N° 978, makes the translator to have been king *Alurex*. The MS. cited by Pasquier, calls him king *Auvert* [*n*]. The MS. in the Royal library, 15 A. VII. says the translation was made by the order of king *Affrus* ; and, lastly, the Harleian MS. N° 4333, makes it the work of king *Henry*.

It is easy to perceive into what confusion we are thrown by these different denominations ; but it is not quite so easy to see how it is possible to get out of it.

In the first place, I am unacquainted with any historian, ancient or modern, who has mentioned a king *Mires* ; and I am very much inclined to think that he entirely owes his existence to the transcriber of the MS. cited by Duchesne and Menage. He had probably read his original MS. wrong, and not knowing the series of English kings, did not perceive his mistake.

With respect to king *Alurex* or *Auvert*, every one who has examined our ancient writers of romance during the 12th and 13th centuries, must know that the name of Alfred was thus disfigured by them. But it is difficult to account for its having been converted into the barbarous one of *Affrus*, except we make due allowance for the rudeness and ignorance of the times in which it was done.

[*m*] Menage diction. etymol. V. Romans. Duchesne, Œuvres de Maître Alain Chartier, p. 861.

[*n*] Pasquier Recherches, Liv. VIII. c. 1.

Here, then, we have two kings of England, Alfred and Henry, who are said to have a claim to the English version of the fables which were afterwards translated into French by Mary. Now it could not possibly be a joint work by them, as several ages intervened between their respective reigns, whatever king of the name of Henry be selected. But, if one only of them be the author, to which are we to give the literary palm? To judge of this matter with propriety let us examine the claims of both competitors.

I shall begin with doing homage to the merit of king Alfred; he exerted all the zeal that was possible to cultivate the belles lettres in his dominions; he spoke Latin with great facility; he understood the Greek language tolerably well; in short, he was truly a man of learning [o]. But whence is it that his historian Asser, as well as William of Malmſbury, have mentioned the different translations of this prince without having noticed that of *Æſop* [p]? Whence is it that Spelman, who has given a very ample history of this monarch, and who, in its composition, seems to have collected together every incident of his life, both literary and political, that antiquity has left behind, should have been likewise silent as to this translation, when he has explicitly mentioned the pastoral of St. Gregory, the version of Boetius, &c. How has it happened that two historians, who enter upon details, frequently of little importance to the memory of Alfred, should have omitted a circumstance that would have given undeniable proof of his skill in the Greek language? In short, does not this total silence warrant us in at least doubting the fact? For my own part I confess that I really do question his having been the author of the English translation that is ascribed to him, and I shall crave leave to offer the following reasons for my opinion.

[o] Henry's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 348, &c.

[p] Asseri Vita Alfredi. Malmſb. Hist. Lib. II. c. 4.



1. The silence of historians, and especially the historians of Alfred. 2. The works falsely attributed to that prince, of which Spelman has given some account [q]. 3. The great number of expressions, and many of the morals to the fables, which imply a feudal government in its greatest vigour, and which, therefore, demonstrate that this English translation could not have been of the time of Alfred. 4. This prince began his reign in 871, and died in 901; now is it credible that an Anglo-Saxon version of the 9th century could have been intelligible to Mary, who had only learned the English of the 13th? Had not the lapse of time, and the descents of the Danes and Normans in the 11th century, contributed, in the first place, to alter the Anglo-Saxon; and afterwards, during the 12th, the rest of the people from the northern and western provinces of France, having become dependant upon England, did not they, likewise, by their commerce, and residence in that country, introduce a considerable change into its language? I know not if I mistake, but I can never believe that Mary could have understood the language of the time of Alfred. This difficulty may, perhaps, be removed by a comparison of works. The poems of Robert of Gloucester, who wrote in English at the time Mary lived, are still remaining, and if examined with the Anglo-Saxon pieces of king Alfred, will at once point out the changes in the English language between the 9th and 13th centuries. To accomplish this, it is necessary to possess an intimate acquaintance with the language of both periods, and consequently my powers are inadequate to the task. Yet, if it were undertaken by some competent judge, I believe all would concur in the opinion of the learned Dr. Johnson, who agrees that before the middle of the 12th century the Anglo-Saxon language was already much changed, and that in the 13th

[q] Spelman: Vita Alfredi. pp. 93 and 98.

Robert of Gloucester wrote in a language that was neither Saxon nor English, though compounded of a little of both [r]. But, inasmuch as this poet wrote to be understood, his language must have been that of the time in which he lived, and not being Saxon, but a confused medley of that ancient language, of Norman-French, and of the new English which was just then coming into existence, let it be considered whether Mary, who had to make herself mistress of the uncouth language of Robert of Gloucester, was capable of understanding that of king Alfred. For the above reasons I cannot but decide against this monarch; but mine is merely an individual opinion, and certainly liable to confutation. The MS. in the Royal library, 15 A. VII. which contains a translation into Latin prose of 56 Æsopian fables, purports that they were rendered into English *by the orders* of king Alfred [s]. Spelman informs us that he caused several learned men to instruct his people by means of songs and apologues in the vulgar tongue [t]; this might lead us to imagine that the above work was performed by one or more of those persons whom the king was fond of collecting about his throne; but Spelman has furnished no proof of this fact whatever, and therefore it must be entirely rejected. Besides, the objections we have already seen adduced against Alfred himself, militate, with equal force, against the learned men of his kingdom. The names of Seneschal, Justiciar, Viscount, Provost, Bailiff, Vassal, &c. which occur in these fables, both in the Latin text and French translation by Mary, ought naturally to have been found in the English version. Now these several terms were all, according to Madox, introduced by the Normans [u]; and the morals to these fables, which make

[r] Johnson's History of the English Language, p. 5, &c.

[s] Bibl. Reg. 15 A. VII. Præf. ad Fabul.

[t] Spelman. loc. cit. p. 89.

[u] Madox's History of the Exchequer, c. 4.



frequent allusions to the feudal system, prove more and more that this English translation must have been posterior to the reign of Alfred. In short, before it can be established that either that king, or any of the learned men about his court, could have performed it, it must be shewn that Mary, who learned only the English of the 13th century, was capable; by that means, of understanding the Saxon of the 9th; and this impossibility, coupled with the reasons already given, induces me to give judgment as well against the pretended translators employed by Alfred, as against that prince himself.

In the last place, the Harleian MS. N<sup>o</sup> 4333, ascribes the translation to king Henry. But to which of the three first princes of that name? For if a king Henry was really the translator, it is necessarily to one of them, since Mary lived under the reign of Henry III.

With respect to Henry I.—The Normans were acquainted with the fables of Æsop, or at least those which were attributed to him during the middle ages. Ravul de Vassy, son of Robert archbishop of Rouen, died in 1064, without leaving issue, and the duke of Normandy thought that, in this case, he could reunite the succession to his demesne. From the same archbishop issued the family of the earls of Evreux; the lords of Montfort, one of whom had married its heiress, represented it, and consequently there were collateral heirs who had a legal claim to the succession. But duke William, who was the grand-nephew of the same archbishop, imagined that he could seize upon the whole of the inheritance; and force having silenced right, the real heirs were deprived of their own during the life of the conqueror. After his death, however, they found means to establish their claim against Robert Courthoise, and we find that in asserting it they reproach his father with having made the *Lion's partition* in seizing upon their inheritance [w].

[w] Orderic. Vitalis Hist. apud Duchesne, pp. 488, 681, and 1084.

This proverbial expression very clearly shews that the writings of the Greek fabulist, or at least of those who had followed him, were known to the Normans from the 11th century. It is possible, therefore, that Henry I. might have studied and translated them into English. Again, all historians agree in giving this prince the title of *Beauclerc*, though no one has assigned any reason for a designation so honourable. Now, the title of *clerk* being, at that time, bestowed only upon men of learning, it follows that this king must have really deserved that character; and I confess myself very much inclined to believe him the author of the English version that Mary translated. This opinion, too, serves to justify history, which has given to Henry a name with which authors alone were dignified, and which he certainly would not have received if he had not had certain and generally acknowledged claims to it. In short, what serves singularly to strengthen this opinion is, the number of feudal terms with which the fables abound, and which correspond perfectly well with the reign of this prince.

But, if the author of this translation was not Henry I. can it be maintained that he was Henry II? The reign of the latter was so tempestuous, and it requires a very pacific government indeed to admit of a king's relaxing himself with the Muses, that I cannot believe that Henry II. could taste this pleasure for any length of time. In short, was it Henry III? According to the testimony of all historians, that prince was not endowed with much understanding; and this serves, on the present occasion, to exclude him with great propriety.

III. Has Mary followed the English version literally?

To answer with accuracy it is necessary to be acquainted with this version, and we do not even know whether it exists at this day, and therefore to collect even a very few ideas upon the subject, we are under the necessity of collating the fables of Mary with those  
of



of the fabulists of the middle ages. From this collation it appears, 1. That Mary translated from the English 104 fables into French verse, and that of this number there are 65, the subjects of which had already been treated of by Æsop, Phædrus, Romulus, and the anonymous author of the *Fabulæ Antiquæ*, published by Nilant.

2. That the English translation was not only compiled from these different authors, but from many other fabulists whose names are unknown to us, since out of the 104 fables of Mary there are 39 which are neither found in the before-mentioned authors, nor in other writers of a similar kind.

3. That the English version contained a more ample assemblage of fables than that of Mary, since out of the 56 in the Royal MS. 15 A.VII. which made a part of the former, we find 7 that she has not introduced into her French translation; and from this it appears that she made a selection of subjects that were pleasing to her, and rejected those she disliked; and that, therefore, her work is to be considered as nothing more than an extract from the English collection.

4. That this numerous collection was, in a great measure, the work of the Anglo-Normans, as we find it in their language during the 12th and 13th centuries. It existed, likewise, amongst them in Latin, and, what is very singular, England appears to have had fabulists during the ages of ignorance, whilst Athens and Rome possessed theirs only amidst the most refined periods of their literature.

Among the Harleian MSS. N<sup>os</sup> 219 and 463, and among those of the Royal Society, N<sup>o</sup> 292, contain very large collections of fables and devout stories written in Latin during the middle ages. The two first are anonymous, and the other is ascribed to Odo de Cirington [x]. Of these pieces many are full of wit and pleasantry;

[x] Narrationes Magistri Odonis de Ciringtonia.

but

but what renders them peculiarly interesting is, the ideas they afford us of the manners and customs of the English in these ancient times. I am entirely persuaded that the authors or compilers of them are to be sought for in the monasteries of England; the morals bear too frequent an allusion to a monastic life, and whole sentences of the vulgate and the writings of the fathers are too often introduced to suffer us to think otherwise. I have, in vain, examined these MSS. in the hopes of finding the 39 fables of which Mary has left a translation, but of which the original authors are unknown; I have only been able to trace three or four, and these with different readings. Some may, perhaps, be disposed to conclude that these 39 fables were actually composed by Mary, but I believe that upon a little reflection this opinion must be abandoned. Mary herself terms her work a translation, she glories in the enterprize, and, if it had been only in part the labour of her genius, can it be imagined that she would have passed over that circumstance in silence? When a person takes a pride in the character of a translator, self-love would hardly permit him to make a sacrifice of that of author, if he could claim it. Again, Denis Piramus, who commends the rich and fertile genius of Mary, does it in her *Lays*, and not in the fables which she had merely translated.

Monfieur Le Grand has published 43 of Mary's fables in prose, and these are nearly all that I have met with in any of the fabulists, ancient, or of the middle ages [y]. His translation, however, is not always literal, and seems, in many places, to have departed from the original. He has likewise published many of the *fabliaux*, or little stories which he has unadvisedly attributed to the transcribers of them, and which I have shewn to belong indisputably to Mary [z].

[y] *Fabliaux*, Vol. IV.

[z] *Ibid.* Vol. III. pp. 197, 201, 440, 448

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I have already hinted a suspicion that La Fontaine was acquainted with the fables of Mary, and had actually borrowed from them many of his subjects; to ascertain this fact I have examined the French fabulist, in hopes of discovering some of the 39 fables which we have already found to be wanting in all the writers of this kind with whom we are at present acquainted, and have actually discovered that he is indebted to them for those of the drowning woman, the fox and the cat, and the fox and the pigeon. From others he has only taken the subject, but changed the actors, and, by retouching the whole in his peculiar manner, has enriched these pieces with a new turn, and given them an appearance of originality.

The third work of Mary consists of a history, or rather a tale, in French verse, of St. Patrick's Purgatory. This performance was originally composed in Latin by a monk of the abbey of Saltrey, who dedicated it to the abbot of that monastery, and is to be found in manuscript in most public libraries. There are two translations of it into French verse. The first of these is in the Cotton library, Domit, A. IV. and the second in the Harleian, N<sup>o</sup> 273; but they are not from the same pen. The former consists of near 1800 lines, and the latter of about 700. Monsieur Le Grand has given an analysis of one of these translations in his *fabliaux* [a]; and it is upon the authority of this writer that I have ascribed it to Mary, as he maintains that she is the author of it, but without adducing the necessary proofs for this assertion. The Cotton MS. however, contains nothing that gives the least support to monsieur le Grand's opinion, or even stamps it with probability; neither is Mary's name mentioned in the Harleian MS.: but as the translator in his preface

[a] *Fabliaux*, Vol. V.

entitles the work a lay, and professes that he had rather engage in it than *relate fables*, it may afford a conjecture that Mary has sufficiently developed herself in speaking of her labours of this kind. This, however, is merely a conjecture. It is not impossible that the MSS. which monsieur le Grand consulted contained more particular details on this subject; but he is certainly mistaken in one respect, and that is, in supposing Mary to have been the original author of this piece, whilst all the Latin MSS. that exist attest that she could have been only the translator; and if the translation in the Harleian MS. actually be her performance, she there positively declares that she had been desired to translate the work from Latin into Romance.

This poem was at a very early period translated into English verse; it is to be found in the Cotton library, Calig. A. II. under the title of *Owayne Miles*, on account of Sir Owen being the hero of the piece, and the person whose descent into St. Patrick's Purgatory is related. Walter de Metz, author of the poem entitled *Image du Monde*, mentions also the wonders of St. Patrick's Purgatory, the various adventures of those who descended into it, and the condition of those who had the good fortune to return from it; but I am uncertain whether he speaks from the original Latin of the monk of Saltrey, or from Mary's French translation. In the latter case it should appear that Mary finished her translation before 1246, the year in which Walter says he composed his work [b].

Whether Mary was the author of any other pieces I have not been able to ascertain: her taste, and the extreme facility with which she wrote poetry of the lighter kind, induce a presump-

[b] See his Werks amongst the Harleian MSS. N° 4333.



tion that she was; but I know of none that have come down to us.

I am, Sir,

with great respect,

your very humble and obedient servant,

*Windmill Street,*  
*Nov. 1, 1796.*

L A R U E.

VII. *Account of Inscriptions discovered on the Walls of an Apartment in the Tower of London. By the Rev. John Brand, Secretary.*

Read Nov. 17, 1796.

THERE is a room in Beauchamp's Tower, in the Tower of London, antiently the place of confinement for state prisoners, and which has lately been converted into a mess-room for the officers of the garrison there [a]. On this alteration being made a great number of inscriptions was discovered on the walls of the room, which probably have, for the most part, been made with nails, and are all of them, it should seem, the undoubted autographs, at different periods, of the several illustrious and unfortunate tenants of this once dreary mansion. For the discovery, as well as the preservation, of these most curious memorials, the Society stand indebted to the unremitting zeal and attention of their respectable member, Colonel Smith, F. R. S. major of the Tower of London.

Of the severity of the restrictions these state delinquents in old times were put under, and who, being generally denied the use of books to alleviate the horrors of imprisonment, seem to have substituted this singular species of amusement, in recording, in the best manner they were able, on their prison-walls, their names, arms, crests, devices, &c. with the dates of their confinements. We have a striking picture in the *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*, lately edited by another respectable member of this Society. At page 103,

[a] See an inside View of this Room, Pl. II.















YOW THAT THESE BE AS TS DO WEL BEHOLD AND SE  
 MAY DEME WITH THE EASE WHEREFOR HERE MADE THEY BE  
 WIFE BORDERS LIKE WHEREIN  
 7 BROTHERS NAMES WHOLLST TO SERCHE TE GROVNI



Vol. III. of that entertaining work, we are informed that “ Thomas, duke of Norfolk, who probably escaped death by the death of Henry the VIIIth, in his petition to the lords from the Tower of London, requests to have some of the books which are now at Lambeth; for, says he, unless I have books to read, ere I fall asleep, and after I awake again, I cannot sleep, nor have done these dozen years;” farther requesting “ that I may hear mass, and be bound upon my life not to speak to *him* who says mass, which he may do in the other chamber, whilst I remain within. That I may be allowed sheets to lie on; to have licence in the day time to walk in the chamber without, and in the night be locked in, as I am now.” And he concludes, “ I would gladly have licence to send to London to buy one book of St. Austin de Civitate Dei, and one of Josephus de Antiquitatibus.”

Plate III. represents the curious device of the ambitious John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, son of that Edmund Dudley who had been put to death by command of Henry VIII. His son John became, however, an object of that fickle monarch's favour, was created by him lord viscount Lisle, and appointed one of his executors in his last will. Early in the subsequent reign he was created earl of Warwick, and made lord chamberlain. With talents equally adapted for the camp and cabinet, he distinguished himself as lieutenant-general under the duke of Somerset at Mufleborough Fight in Scotland in 1547, and afterwards as chief commander against the Norfolk rebels under Kett. He was created, probably on these accounts, duke of Northumberland in 1551. Raised to a height favourable to his ambitious views; he now formed the dangerous design of aggrandizing his own family, by destroying the settlement of the crown made by Henry the VIIIth, whereby the princesses Mary and Elizabeth were to succeed upon a failure of issue in Edward the VIth, in favour of Jane Gray, of the house

of Suffolk, and lately married to Guildford Dudley, his youngest son.

This lady Jane he and his adherents actually proclaimed queen on the death of Edward the VIth.

Overpowered, however, by the superior interest of the princess Mary, he was arrested at Cambridge, July 25, 1553, conducted to the Tower of London, and beheaded on the 22nd of August following; so that this curious piece of sculpture must have been done in less than a month's time. The inscription, it should seem, has been left unfinished. His name, in the spelling of the age, is under the crest of the lion and bear and ragged staff. It is difficult to ascertain what is meant, if no pun is couched under them, by the following lines:

*“ Yow that these Beasts do well behold and se  
May deme withe ease wherfore here made they be  
Withe Borders eke wherein - - - - -  
The Brothers names who list to serche the ground.”*

taking it for granted that a pun is intended, the *Roses* easily separate themselves in the division of his brother Ambrose's christian name.

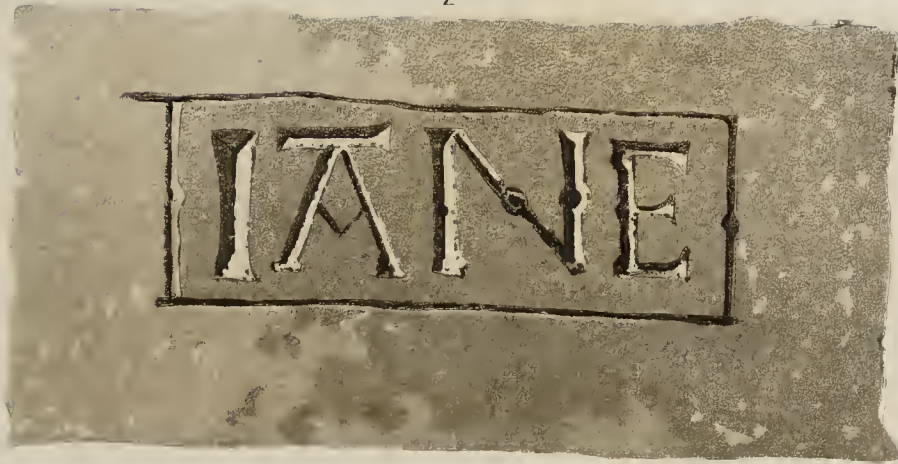
Plate IV. Fig. 1, 2, contains a repetition, taken from different sides of the room, of the royal title of the amiable and unfortunate lady Jane Gray.

She had, perhaps, a latent meaning in this repetition of her signature *Jane*, by which she at once styled herself a queen and intimated that not even the horrors of a prison could force her to relinquish that title.

The magnanimity of this illustrious claimant and victim of royalty, *to the very last*, is thus recorded in Howe's Chronicle, p. 622. “ The 12th of February, (1554) being Monday, there was a scaffold made upon the greene for the lady Jane to die upon, who with her husband was appointed to have been put to death on the Friday before,

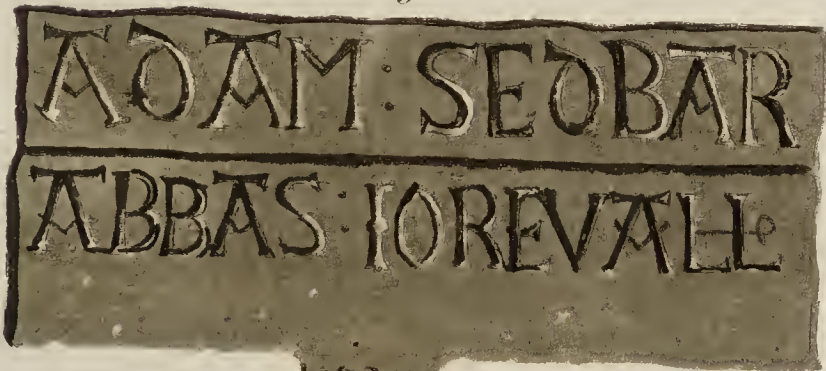


1



<sup>2</sup>  
IANE

3



1537

1



1537

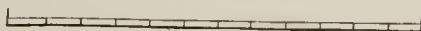
5

Quanto plus afflictionis pro christo in hoc  
saeculo tanto plus gloriae cum christo in  
futuro

ARUNDell June 22  
gloria et honore *e u m* 1587  
coronasti domine

In memoria aeterna erit iustus

ATTC. . . . .



1. Foot.





before, but was stayed till then. This lady, being nothing at all abashed, neither with feare of her owne death, which then approached, neither with the sight of the dead carcase of her husband, when he was brought into the chapell, came foorth, the lieutenant leading her, with countenance nothing abashed, neither her eyes any thing moistened with teares, (although her gentlewomen Elizabeth Tilney and mistresse Helen wonderfully wept) with a book in her hand, wherein she prayed untill she came to the sayd scaffold, whereon when she was mounted, she was behcaded: whose deaths were the more hastened for fear of further troubles and stirre for her title, like as her father had attempted."

It is farther stated in the *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons* before cited, Vol. IV. p. 129, that "on the wall of the room in which she (lady Jane Gray) was imprisoned in the Tower, she wrote with a pin these lines:

"Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere possunt,  
Sors hodierna mihi cras erit illa tibi."

"To mortals' common fate thy mind resign,  
My lot to-day, to-morrow may be thine."

no vestiges of the above inscription were lately discovered.

With regard to Plate IV. Fig. 4, I should suppose that by "*Doctor Cook, 1537,*" is meant the same person who is recorded in *Howe's Chronicle*, p. 581, under the name of "Laurence Cooke, prior of Dancafter," to have been with five others drawn to Tyburn, and hanged, and quartered. They had all been attainted by parliament for denial of the king's supremacy.

As to the inscription, "*Adam Sedbar Abbas Jorevall 1537,*" Pl. IV. Fig. 3, we read in *Howe's Chronicle*, under that year, p. 574, that "in June, Adam Sodbury, abbot of Gervaux, was put to death;" and somewhat fuller, in *Willis' History of Mitred Abbies*, p. 275,  
cited

cited in Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 373, that "Adam Sedburgh, the eighteenth and last abbot of Joreval, Jervaux or Gervis abbey in Yorkshire, was hanged in June, A. D. 1537, for opposing the king (Henry the VIIIth's) measures."

Plate IV. Fig. 5, exhibits a true copy of the autograph of Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, and son of Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded, A. D. 1572. The sentence to which he has subscribed his name, "*Quanto plus afflictionis pro Christo in hoc sæculo, tanto plus gloriæ cum Christo in futuro,*" is remarkably adapted to the character that has been left of him, according with the austerities which, Camden tells us, he used to practise, and the tenor of his behaviour, which other accounts have transmitted to us, as not unbecoming the primitive ages of the christian church.

We are informed by Dodd, in his *Church History*, that he was a zealous professor of the catholic faith, whereof he gave many remarkable proofs during his sufferings for the cause.

This inscription appears, by the date *June 22, 1587*, to have been made about two years after his commitment to the Tower.

The sentences underneath seem probably to have been added after his death by subsequent Roman catholic prisoners, &c. by way of eulogium on his memory.

*"Gloria et honore eum coronasti domine."*

In the last there has been an omission of the latter part, "the memory of the wicked shall rot," perhaps through fear of the party then uppermost, who are pretty strongly glanced at by the introduction of the first word "*At.*"

In 1585 this prudent, as well as pious nobleman, foreseeing a storm gathering and threatening his party, on account of some attempts to set the queen of Scots at liberty, formed a resolution of quitting the kingdom; but as he was taking shipping, by the treachery



chery of his own servants, he was discovered, apprehended, and committed to the Tower.

Here he lay above four years before he was brought to his trial, which came on April 18, 1589, and of which the particulars are preserved in the collection of State Trials. Though condemned to die, he never felt the edge of the axe, but was reprieved from time to time till his death in the Tower, October 19, Collins says November 19, 1595, and aged about forty years; thus compensating, as it were, by a close confinement for ten years, the fatal stroke that had been undergone by his father, grand-father, and great-grand-father.

Dod says, that as to his person he was very tall, of a swarthy complexion, with an agreeable mixture of sweetness and grandeur in his countenance, adding, that he had a soul superior to all human considerations. His son Thomas, whom he had by Anne, sister of George, lord Dacres of Gifford, a co-heir, by whom the Howard family had a considerable accession of property, inherited the honours of this illustrious house, and died at Padua in the year 1646.

With regard to the title of earl of Arundel, taken by this Philip, eldest son of Thomas, duke of Norfolk, the following passage from Collins's Peerage affords a very ample explanation: "The title of the duke of Norfolk being, by the attainder of this Thomas, thus taken away, Philip, his eldest son, was called earl of Arundel, as owner of Arundel Castle in Suffex, by descent from his mother; it having, in 11 Henry VI. been adjudged in parliament to be a local dignity, so that the possessors thereof should enjoy that title of honour. Whereupon he, the said Philip, by that appellation, had summons to the parliament, begun at Westminster in January 16, 1579-80."

## Plate V.

“ *J. H. S. A passage perillus makethe a port pleasant.* ”

(In another place)

*A* 1568.

*Arthur Poole*

*Æs sue 37.*

*A. M. P.* in a cypher.

“ *Deo servire* ”

*Penitentiam inire*

*Fatoque obedire.*

*Regnare est.*

*A. Poole 1564. J. H. S.*

About the year 1562 the commotions in France, during the minority of Charles the IXth, between the princes of the popish and the reformed religion, soon spread themselves by a kind of contagion to this island; and Arthur Poole, and his brother, great-grandchildren to George, duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward the IVth, and Anthony Fortescue, who had married their sister, with others, were accused of conspiring to withdraw themselves into France, upon a design formed of landing an army from thence in Wales, there to proclaim the queen of Scots queen of England, and to declare this Arthur Poole duke of Clarence; all which they confessed at their trials, protesting, however, that they had no design in it during the life of queen Elizabeth, but had been rashly induced to credit some who pretended to foretell that her majesty would not outlive that year. The words of Camden are, “ *Quæ singula pro Tribunali ingenue sunt confessi, protestati tamen non hæc suscepturos Elizabetha superstitite, quam anno vertente morituram illicitis ariolorum artibus seducti crediderant.* ”

Arthur Poole’s brother, whose name was Edmund, has left two inscriptions: “ *Æ. 21. E. Poole, 1562,* ” and “ *Æ. 27. E. P. A. 1568.* ” Pl. VI. Fig. 1, 2.

In Strype’s Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 372, we are told that “ Arthur Pole, Edmonde Pole, Anthony Fortescue,  
John



Ths

A Village Verillus  
Wakethe A Wort  
& Pleasent

A 15 68

Arthur Poole

. A<sup>r</sup> Sue 37

. A.P. .







A 27 APR 1568

A 21 APR 1562



MALA CONSCIE  
LITIA FACIT VT  
VITA TIME AN  
IVR. C. GYFFORD

ARMATA

TP

PEVEREL





John Prestfall, Humfrey Barwycke, Edwarde Cofyn, and others, to the number of seven in the whole, by commiffion of oyer and terminer, dated vicesimo secundo Die Februarii anno quinto Reginae, were arrayned upon an indytemente of treason found in Surry, the force whereof hereafter followeth. Firfte, it is conteyned, that the fame Arthur Pole, and others named in the fame indytemente, as false traytors and rebells agenste the queen's majesty, did compasse, imagyne, and goe aboute not onlye to depryve and depose the queen, but also her death and destruction ; and to sette upp and make the Skottyshe queen queen of this realme.

And to bringe the fame to passe, they conspired to raise and make infurrection and warre within this realme againste the queen.

And for the further bringing of the fame to passe, they agreed amongst themselves to depart this realme into Flanders, and from thence into France.

And at their arrivall in Flanders they shoulde publish the feyd Arthur Pole to be duke of Clarence. And then should send their letters unto the queen mother, the king of Navarre, and the duke of Guyse, signifying the arrival of the duke of Clarence in Flanders, and to request ayd, acceptation, and adherence unto their sayd intents.

And to be better accepted in the said realm of Fraunce for the bringing of their sayd traterous intents to effecte, the feyd Arthur Pole and his sayd complycles devysed, that so soone as they came into the realme of Fraunce, they should treat with the sayd duke of Guyse, the open enemy unto the queen and her realme, for marriage betwene the feyd Skottyshe queen and Edmonde Pole, brother to the sayd Arthur. And to bring in an army of 5,000 men of the enemyes of our sayd queen, from the feyd duke of Guyse, and with the same armye in Maye next after to arrive in Wales, and there to proclaim the feyd Skottyshe queen to be queen of England : and afterwards from the parte of Wales to come into this

realm, and to move the subjects to ryse and rebell against the queene, and to make the said Skottyshe queen queen of this realme, and to depose our soveraign ladye.

Item, that the feyd Skottish queen, after she hadd been so preferred to the crowne of this realme, should create the sayd Arthur Pole duke of Clarence.

Item, yt is farther founde by the feyd indytements, that after the sayd conspyrators had arryved in Flanders, they wolde sende letters to one Goldewell, late bishopp of St. Asaphe, then being at Rome, to be meane to the pope, for his ayde in theis conspyracies, with promyse of restitution of relygion within this realme of Inghlandt, for such his ayde and helpe.

Item, yt is founde that Prestall and Cofyn, two of the sayd conspyrators, dyd invoke a wicked spryte, and demaunded of him the best waye to bring all their treasons to passe: and that Anthony Fortescue, one of the feyd conspyrators, dyd open unto the French embassador and unto the Spanish embassador, the feyd traiterous devyces, by the consente of the sayd Arthur Pole, and the resydue of the feyd conspyrators; with request unto both the same embassadors to hand their letters unto the French king, and to the feyd duke of Guyse, for their ayde in performance of the sayd treasons; declaringe unto the same embassadors the just title which the feyd Arthur Pole hadde to the feyd dukedom of Clarence.

Item, yt is further founde, that the said Prestall and Cofyn, to the intents aforeseyd, dyd goe into the feyd partes beyonde the seas; and that the feyd Anthony Fortescue, by the consente of the feyd Arthur Pole, and the residue of the feyd conspyrators, dyd hyer a boate to be brought unto St. Olyve's stayres, nyghe unto London Brydge, to the intente to convey in the same the sayd Fortescue and other of the same conspirators, being left behind after the departure of the feyd Prestall and Cofyn, unto a Flemish hoye, beinge uppon  
the



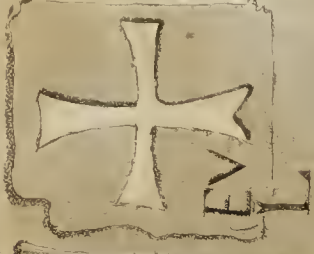




IHOH I SEVMOR  
GCHOWT 1553



LANCAST  
ER: HERALD  
EFIX INCIS



REPRENSILE  
SAGE ETILTE  
AVL MERA Q  
1538



THOMAS  
STEVEN

JAME  
ROGER

II. 1538

VIRBVM D MINNI  
MANE 1568  
JOHNI PRINE

SARO FIDELI  
INGGRAM  
PERIV.

EN DIEV KEST &  
MONIESPERANCE



SPERANDO MI GODOERO  
1537

ATP TAGE  
A



FRANCS  
OWDAL  
1541

P.VL  
PEVL



the river Thames fyx myles beyonde Gravesende, to the intente to transporte the fame Anthonie Fortescue, Arthur Pole, and the refydue of the conspirators left behinde, into Flaunders, to the intente to performe the feyd trayterous conspiracyes.

Item, yt is further found, that the fame Arthur Pole, and other the conspirators abovenamed, being lefte behinde in Englande, came into the fayd boate fo provyded: and therein layd dyvers armures and certeyn munytyon for warre, and fommes of money, and other things neceffarye for theyr fayd journey: and alfo remayned in a certen inne called the Dolphyn, for opportunyty of tyme, to be conveyed by the fame boate into the feyd hoye, and therein to be transported into Flaunders to the entents aforeseyd. And here-uppon the fame indytemente concludeth with this effecte uppon all theis matters aforeseyd, layd together, that the feyd conspirators dyd compaffe and ymagyne the depofinge, death, and fynall destruction of our foveraigne ladye the queen."

The above is a copy from the Cecil MSS.

The parties indicted upon this matter, were, by the whole consent of the judges of the realm then in being, arraigned and adjudged traytors at Westminster: but the queen, of her clemency, and perhaps from the confideration of their being, at least the Poles, of the blood royal, spared their lives.

It should seem, however, that both Arthur and Edmund Poole were confined during their lives in the Tower: for in the register of the Tower chapel there remain between the years 1565 and 1578 the two following entries:

" Mr. Arthur Poole buried in the chappell."

" Mr. Arthur Poole's brother buried in the chappell."

Plate VII. Miscellaneous arms, ciphers, and inscriptions.

" *En Dieu est mon Esperance.*"

I suppose this to have been done by Henry the VIIIth earl of Northumberland,

Northumberland, who, as appeared by the coroner's inquest, shot himself in the Tower, June 21, 1585. "This earl, as Collins informs us, was suspected to have plotted secretly with Francis Throckmorton, Thomas lord Paget, and the Guises, for invading England, and setting the queen of Scots at liberty, whom he always highly favoured. Whereupon, being soon committed to the Tower, and there kept prisoner, he, on Monday, June 21, 1585, was found dead in his bed, shot with three bullets near his left pap, from a dagge or pistol, his chamber door being barred on the inside. The coroner's inquest having viewed the body, considered the place, found the pistol, with gunpowder in the chamber, and examined his man, who bought the pistol, and him that sold it, gave their verdict that he had killed himself. The third day after there was a full meeting of the peers of the realm in the star chamber, where sir Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor, briefly declared, that the earl had been engaged in traiterous designs, and had laid violent hands upon himself, being terrified with the guilty conscience of his offence; and the attorney and solicitor general shewed the reasons why the earl had been kept in prison."

Notwithstanding this weight of evidence Camden has hinted, and that pretty broadly, at some suspicions of foul play on this occasion, in the following words: "Certe boni quam plurimi tum quod natura nobilitati faveant, tum quod præclaram fortitudinis laudem retulisset, tantum virum tam misera et miseranda morte periisse indoluerunt. Quæ suspicaces profugi de ballivo quodam ex hattoni famulis, qui paullo ante comiti custos adhibitus, mussitârunt, ut parum compertum omitto, nec ex vanis auditionibus aliquid intexere visum est."

So that, though we cannot apply the well known lines of Gray,  
 "Ye towers of Julius, London's lasting shame,  
 With many a foul and midnight murder fed!"



they will but too obviously obtrude themselves on our remembrance, when we take a review of the several circumstances of the noble earl's most tragical end.

“ *Saro Fidei*  
*Inggram Percy 1537.*”

The person who made the above inscription was third son of Henry the Vth earl of Northumberland. Collins, who seems to have known nothing of his ever having been a prisoner in the Tower of London, tells us that “ Sir Ingelram, or Ingram Percy, knight, was receiver of the revenue of the earl his brother in the northern parts of the county of Northumberland. He never married, but died about the latter end of the year 1538, leaving only an illegitimate daughter, to whom in his will he “ bequethes twenty pounds, the whiche twenty pounds he wills the lady his mother shall have the use thereof, with the childe, untill she be of lawful age. He also bequethes to the moder of the said childe twenty nobles. This will, which is dated June 7, 1538, and the probat March 21 following, and which, besides the above, only contains legacies to his servants, plainly shews that he was never married, and left no legitimate issue: although Percy, the trunk-maker, in Temp. Car. II. pretended to derive his descent and claim to the earldom of Northumberland from this sir Ingram Percy, knight. His natural daughter, above mentioned, who was named Ifabel, became wife of Henry Tempest of Broughton in Com. Ebor.”

It seems highly probable that the above sir Ingram Percy was some way or other involved in Uske's rebellion, for which his brother sir Thomas Percy, knight, was executed at Tyburn in June 1537.

“ *R. D.*”

Under the flip of an oak-tree with acorns,

I should

I should think are the initials of Robert Dudley, "Sonne," says Howe, p. 618, "to the late duke of Northumberland, who in 1554 was arrayned at the Guild Hall of London of high treason: he confessed the inditement, and had judgement given by the earl of Suffex to be drawne, hanged, bowelled, and quartered." The same authority informs us that he had been committed to the Tower by the name of Lord Robert Dudley, July 26, 1553.

"F. Page."

Though the initial of the christian name is bent, as if for a P. Sed quære.

"Francis Page," on the authority of Dod, in his Church History, "having spent some time in the municipal laws in England, went abroad, and, being ordained priest, returned as a missionary into his own country. He resided for the most part with Mrs. Anne Line, a widow gentlewoman; and being at last seized, and condemned to die, for receiving orders, he was executed at Tyburn in the year 1601. He insisted, at his trial, that being a reputed alien, born at Antwerp, the law did not reach him. But not being able to produce his proofs immediately, his plea was overruled; though it was looked upon to be a great hardship that he had not time allowed him to make good his allegation. Mrs. Line was also prosecuted and suffered death for entertaining him. Alegambe gives Mr. Page a place in his catalogue, but," says Dod, "I do not find that he was ever admitted among the jesuits: neither, indeed, does Alegambe affirm it."

*Verbum Domini manet*

1568.

*John Prine."*

This prisoner was most probably some priest of the Roman Catholic communion.

"Jhon



“ *Jhon Seymor.*”

No Date.

Hume, in his History of England, Vol. IV, p. 377, informs us, that in one night, October 16, 1551, the duke of Somerset, the lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's servants, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Thomas Palmer, were arrested, and committed to custody. The duke of Somerset is well known to have been brought to the scaffold on Friday January 22, 1552. What became of this John Seymour (if the same person is meant, which seems very probable) does not appear.

“ *C. C. How. 1553.*”

A Crucifix.

This prisoner, it should seem, has been a priest of the Roman catholic communion. I can find no account of him.

An inscription in old French, “ Reprove the wise man, and he will love thee.” C. J. 1538. (In another place) “ Lerne to feare God.” C. J.

“ *Joyn Warw.*”

Two Crucifixes.

This prisoner has most probably been a priest of the Roman catholic communion.

“ *Thomas Steven.*”

No account of him.

“ *James Rogers.*”

I can find nothing concerning him.

An inscription in old Italian. *Sperando mi godero, 1537.* A cipher—probably made by some prisoner who had been concerned in Aske's rebellion in the North.

“ *Francis Owdal. 1541.*”

No account of this prisoner.

“ *Lancaster Herald*  
*Francis Eul.*”

Two Crosses.

I can form no conjecture on the intention of the above inscription, unless the mutilated name at the bottom may have been for that of some Roman catholic prisoner.

Plate VI. Fig. 3. A *G* on each side of the arms of *Gifford*, i. e. the same arms given by Edmondson to *the Giffords* of Worcester-shire, Buckinghamshire, Ireland, and Wotton-under Edge in Gloucestershire, “ *Argent, ten torteauxes, four, three, two, and one.*” Date 1586. By way of crest to the shield, a hand grasping three flowers.

Underneath

“ *Mala Conscientia facit ut tuta timeantur.*  
*G. Gyfford.*”

(In another place)

“ *Fidelis non Felix*

*Dolor patientiâ vincitur.*

*G. Gyfford, August 8, 1586.*”

Bishop Carleton, in his “ *Thankful Remembrance of God’s Mercie,*” p. 106, tells us that “ *George Giffard*, one of the queenes Gentleman Pencionaries, had sworne to kill the queene, and for that cause had wiped Guise of a great summe of money.” Probably this was the prisoner that made the above inscriptions; and yet we are informed in *Strype’s Annals*, Vol. III. p. 417, under the year 1586, of a “ *Gilbert Giffourd*, a priest, who was concerned in a conspiracy against the queen,” where it is added, that “ upon the discovery of this



this dreadful plot, and the taking up of those rebels and bloody-minded traitors, the city of London made extraordinary rejoicings, by public bonfires, ringing of bells, feasting in the streets, singing of Psalms, and such like.”

The subsequent inscriptions were discovered also at the same time.

“ *T. Salmon.* Crest Three Salmon—Date 1622.—Arms, as it should seem, of the name of *Salmon*—Motto, *Nec temere nec timore.*” “ *J. H. S. Sic vive ut vivas.*”—Death’s head—round it, “ *Et morire ne moriaris.*”—This has probably been done by some prisoner of the Roman catholic communion, but there is no account of any person of that name in Dod’s Church History.

Anonymous—Inscription “ *An<sup>o</sup> Dni 1568. Jaen<sup>o</sup>. 23.*

*J. H. S.*

*No hope is hard or vayne  
That happ doth ous attayne.”*

This, too, was most probably done by some priest of the Roman catholic communion, who has studiously concealed his name.

“ *Thomas Cobham 1556.*”

This Thomas Cobham was concerned in Wyat’s rebellion, and committed with Wyat to the Tower of London, on the night of Shrove Tuesday 1554.

“ *Thomas Clarke 1576.*

*“ I leve in hope and I gave credit to my Frinde in time  
Did stand me most in hand  
So would I never do againe excepte I hade him suer in bande  
And to al men wishe I so  
Unles ye sussteine the like lose as I do.*

M 2

*Unhappie*

*Unhappie is that mane whose aētes doth procuer  
The miseri of this house in prison to induer.*

1576. *Thomas Clarke.*"

(In another place.)

*" Hit is the poynt of a wyse man to try and then truste  
For hapy is he who fyndeth one that is just.*

T. C."

Dod, in his Church History, (Vol II. p. 75) mentions a "Thomas Clarke (probably this prisoner) a priest of the Roman communion, but of what order he did not find," adding, that "He became a protestant and made his recantation sermon at St. Paul's Cross, July 1, 1593."

*" Thomas Miagh 1581.*

*" Thomas Miagh which lieth hire alone  
That fayne wold from hens begon  
By torture straunge my troyth was tried  
Yet of my libertie denied.*

1581. *Thomas Miagh.*"

I find no account of this prisoner, the sincerity of whose wishes to be set at liberty no one will be inclined to call in question.

*" Edward Cuffyn 1562."*

For whatever crime this person had been made a prisoner, he occurs afterwards as sent into exile, as one of an enterprising spirit, and fit to be deputed as a Romish emissary to England. Strype, in his Annals, Vol. III. p. 318, mentions a letter from Robert Turner, a native of Devonshire, public professor of Divinity at Ingolstade in Germany, A. D. 1585, to cardinal Allen at Rome, recommending an English man, one Edward Coffin, ready at his service, to be admitted into the English college at Rome, (where Allen was chief) being



being a young man, a catholic, and an exile; “whom (as he flattereth him) England loved, Rome adorned, banishment hath, as it were ratified (sanxit) the patron and father of Englishmen, catholics, and exiles.” “That this man’s request was that he might be chosen into the said college, having consecrated himself to God, to England, and Rome; and that he was a fit young man of no ill note, and prepared inire palestram: Juvenis feroculus; ready to enter upon action, a fierce youth: very good qualifications for a Romish emissary.” Dod tells us that he was born in Exeter, educated in the English college in Rome from the year 1588; and, being ordained priest, was sent upon the mission; and, having laboured some years, became a Jesuit, as it appears, making his profession in England An. 1598. He was a great sufferer upon account of religion, being several years a prisoner, and at last banished An. 1603. He lived afterwards in Rome, and was near twenty years confessor in the English college. Though now advanced in years, he was desirous of seeing England once more; and, being permitted, remained there a little while, and then died at St. Omer’s, in the year 1626. The works he left to posterity are, 1. A Preface to Robert Parson’s Posthumous Work against William Barlow, bishop of Lincoln. St. Omer’s, 1612. 2. A Treatise in Defence of the Celibacy of Priests against Joseph Hall, dean of Worcester. Ib. 8vo. 1619.

3. De Morte Roberti Bellarmini. Ibid. 8vo. 1623.

4. The Art of Dying Well, a translation from the Latin of Rob. Bellarmin. Ibid. 8vo. 1622.

5. M. Ant. de Dominis Archiepisc. Spalatensis Palinodia, quâ Reditûs fui ex Angliâ Rationes explicat. Ib. 8vo. 1623.”

“*John Colleton Priest 1581. July 22.*”

In A. Munday’s “Discoverie of Edmund Campion and his confederates,

federates, their most horrible and traiterous practises against her majesties most royall person and the realme, &c. imprinted at London Jan. 1582." 8vo. we are informed that on "the 21st of Nov. 1581, John Hart, Thomas Foord, William Filbie, Lawrence Richard, John Shert, Alexander Brian, and John Collington, were brought to their trials, and all found guilty of the treasons, "except John Collington, who was quit of the former high treason by the jewrie."

We gather from the same authority that Edmond Campion, jesuit, Raphe Sherwin and Alexander Brian, seminary priests, were drawn from the Tower on hurdles, and executed at Tyburne Dec. 1, 1581.

It appears farther that this John Colleton, or Collington, for his name is spelled both ways, was committed to the Tower on the very day on which he made the above inscription, viz. July 22, 1581, from "a very true report of the apprehension and taking of that arche-papist Edmund Campion, the pope his right hand, with three other lewd Jesuit priests, and divers other laie people, most seditious persons of like sort, by George Ellyott, one of the ordinary yeomen of her majesty's chamber. 1581." Signat. G. 3. 6.

In a part of Beauchamp's Tower, now converted into a kitchen, were discovered the following inscriptions :

*"The man whom this howse can not mend  
Hathe evill becom and worse will end."*

(Two acorns, with an oak leaf in the middle.)

"The following inscription in old Italian.

*"Dispoi che vore La  
Fortuna che ba mea  
Speransa va al ven-  
to pianger Ho volio  
El Tempo Perduto*



*E Semper Stel me  
Tristo e Disconteto.*

*Wilim Tyrrel 1541 [a]."*

No account of William Tyrrell can be found. The above melancholy inscription seems to imply that the person who made it had been condemned, and was impatient for the day of his execution.

It is one of those genuine effusions of anguish which may be stiled, in the pathetic language of the Book of Psalms,

"The sorrowful sighing of the prisoner."

The allusion to astrology marks very strongly the superstition of the age.

*"William Rame 22 die Aprilis An<sup>o</sup> 1559.*

*Better it is to be in the howse of mornnyng then in the houze of banqueting.*

*The harte of the wyse is in the mornnyng howze. It is better to have some chastening then to have over moche liberte.*

*There is a tyme for all things, a tyme to be borne and a tyme to dye, and the daye of deathe is better than the daye of birthe.*

*There is an ende of all things, ande the ende of a thinge is beter then the begenyng.*

*Be wyse and pacyente in troble, for wysedome defendith us as weil as monie.*

*Use weil the tyme of prosperite, and remember the tyme of mysfortune."*

[a] The following translation of this inscription was given by a learned member of this society.

"Since fortune hath chosen that my hope  
Should go to the wind to complain: I wish  
The time were destroyed: my planet being ever  
Sorrowful and discontented.

It

It is not known who this William Rame was, unless he be included among the "parsons and vicars" mentioned by Howe in his Chronicle, p. 639-40, as having been "deprived *this year* from their benefices, and *some* committed to prison in the Tower" and other places.

"Thomas Rooper. 1570.

*Per passage penible passons a port plaisant."*

This person was most probably banished, as I find no account of his execution. In Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol II. p. 648-9, under the year 1580, the "Ropers" are mentioned among the queen's enemies remaining abroad, and a letter of Dr. Parry to the lord treasurer from Paris, is there cited, wherein he intercedes "for some papists, fugitives, Mr. John Roper and Mr. Thomas Roper by name, as well worthy of his lordship's good opinion and countenance."

These were probably descendants of the Roper who was son-in-law to sir Thomas More.

In the account of sir Thomas More and Mr. William Roper, in Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, (Vol. I. col. 32) it is stated that William Roper, who married Margaret More, was born in Kent, and educated for a time in one of the universities. Afterwards he succeeded his father, John Roper, in the office of first notary of the King's Bench, which, after he had faithfully performed fifty-four years, he resigned to his son, Thomas Roper, who held the same twenty-four years, and died ætatis 65, January 21, 1597." In his epitaph in St. Dunstan's church, in the suburbs of Canterbury, his name is spelled, as here, with two oo's. "Thomas Rooper, Armiger."

"1585. Thomas Bawdewin. Juli.—

*As vertue maketh life*

*So sin causeth death."*

(A pair of scales.)

Neither











Neither the State Papers, Rymer's *Fædera*, Strype, Dod, nor Howe, mention this Thomas Bawdewin. I suspect he has been imprisoned here for counterfeiting the queen's coin.

*“ Thomas Peverel.”*

Two inscriptions, both undated; round one a mutilated sentence—“*adoramus te—Benedict,*” Plate VIII.—on the other, a bleeding heart on a crucifix—part of the figure of a skeleton with words not to be made out beneath—the first is plainly “*pars.*” Arms of Peverel, three wheat-sheaves—a pomegranate. Edmondson informs us that the arms of Peverell of Devonshire, are, “Az. three Garbs. ar. two and one.” Plate VI. Fig. 4.

I find no account whatever of this prisoner.

*“ Thomas Willymear, gold-smythe.*

*My hart is yours tel dethe.*” A bleeding heart, oak slip, with acorns growing out of it. On one side his own initials, T.W. on the other P. A. probably those of his mistress. A figure of death, holding a dart in one hand, and an hour-glass in the other. From the circumstance of his styling himself “Goldsmith” I should suspect this person to have been imprisoned for counterfeiting the current coin of the kingdom. There is no date.

*“ 1570. Jhon Store, Doctor.”*

The curious information that has been transmitted concerning this prisoner must atone for the very scanty notices or silence of our annalists concerning the preceding ones.

Dod tells us (Vol. II. p. 164) that this John Story was “educated in the university of Oxford, chiefly in Henxey Hall, a most noted house for civilians. He was admitted bachelor of the civil law, anno 1531, and appointed professor of a new lecture, anno 1535, founded by king Henry VIII.

In the year 1537 he was chosen principal of Broadgate's Hall ; and the year following created doctor of laws. Having afterwards performed remarkable services in administering justice at the siege of Boulogne, under the Marshal, in consideration thereof his lecture at Oxford was confirmed to him by patent for life.

In the beginning of Edward VIth's reign, being a justice of the peace, and a zealous maintainer of the old religion, he appeared very forward in opposing all innovations, and hindering the people in his neighbourhood from plundering and making a prey of the goods of the church ; to which purpose he made a very warm harangue at one of the quarterly meetings. This behaviour being carried to court, he was severely threatened, and soon after obliged to withdraw into Flanders, where he remained the rest of king Edward VIth's reign. Queen Mary's accession favouring his return, he came back into England, and was considered suitably to his capacity and merits. The patent of professor in Oxford was restored to him ; but this he quickly gave up for places of greater advantage. He was frequently employed in what regarded the canon law in the courts held in London ; and being made chancellor of the diocese of Oxford, it engaged him to be very active in prosecuting the protestants of queen Mary's reign. When queen Elizabeth came to the crown Dr. Story was a member of the house of commons, and spoke so warmly against the reformation that he was committed. But finding means to make his escape, he retired once more into Flanders, where he was put into an advantageous post in the custom house at Antwerp. It is thought his behaviour in that place gave great offence to several English merchants that frequented that port, which, together with the remembrance of his having acted with an high hand against the reformers in the late reign, put some persons upon thoughts of revenge ; and it was not long before they drew him into a snare. Being on a certain day called upon to visit an English ship in the harbour, belonging to one Parker, who, as it appeared,



appeared, had contrived his matters beforehand, he no sooner had gone on board but Parker immediately ordered the hatches to be nailed down upon him; and hoisting up sail, brought him over prisoner to England about the beginning of 1570. Afterwards, being committed prisoner to the Tower, he was frequently examined, and pressed to take the oath of supremacy, which he refused with great courage and constancy, being animated thereunto by abbot Feckenham, prisoner in the Tower at the same time. When his trial came on, several things were alledged against him, viz. his cruel treatment of the protestants in queen Mary's reign; several treasonable speeches against the queen and government while he resided in Antwerp. But the chief article of his indictment was his denying the queen's supremacy. In his defence he insisted very much upon his being the king of Spain's sworn servant; and, upon that account, no longer subject to the laws of England. But his plea was not allowed. So, steadfastly refusing to take the oath of supremacy, as he had done several times before within the Tower, he was drawn from thence on a hurdle to Tyburn, June 1, 1571. He made a bold speech at the place of execution, and died, as he lived, a zealous assertor of the faith of his ancestors. He was cut down before he was deprived of the use of his senses; and, as it was reported, struggled with the executioner while he was rifling among his bowels. His head was placed upon London Bridge, and his quarters upon the gates of the city. People were variously affected by his death. Some pitied him upon account of his age, being above seventy. Others looked upon his death as a piece of revenge, and unbecoming a court of judicature. While those at the helm judged it a piece of policy to take off a person whose parts and experience might be prejudicial to the government, in case he were permitted to live in a kingdom with which they had daily contest, and with which a war was then threatened."

Strype has preserved a memorial that the famous John Fox, the martyrologist, gave in against him at his trial, as to his cruel persecuting spirit, copied from a paper in Fox's own hand-writing :

“ Story, by his confession, the chiefest cause and doer, in putting most of the martyrs to death.

Story caused a faggot to be cast at the face of Mrs. Denley, singing a psalm in the fire, saying, he had marred the fashion of an old song.

Story scourged Thomas Green.

Story, coming from the burning of two, at the lord mayor, Mr. Curtys his table, said, that as he had dispatched *them*, so he trusted within a month he should also dispatch all the rest ; saying, moreover, that if he were of the queen's council, he would devise to torment them after another sort. And there shewed the way most cruel, which he would use.

Story, at another time coming from the burning of Richard Gibson, and being demanded of the Lord Mayor what he would do if the world should alter, said, If he were so sick in his bed that he could not stir without hands, yet would he sit up to give sentence against an heretick ; and though he knew the world would turn the next day after.

Story was sorry (as he said in the Parliament House) that they struck not at the root.

In summa, Story worse than Boner.

Yet, notwithstanding, Story is made a saint at Rome, and his martyrdom printed and set up in the English college there.”

Such were the sentiments of our old martyrologist, exaggerated, no doubt, by party spirit, concerning this extraordinary character, who seems far to have outdone, in acts of cruelty, even that prelate to whose name the horrid and most inconsistent epithet of “ bloody” has been annexed by posterity, who was, however, not only an



amateur of such barbarous spectacles, but, as far as whipping went, even fouled his consecrated hands with the base offices of the executioner, and of whom a most remarkable saying has been handed down. When wondering at the courage of the poor protestant martyrs even in the fire, and at effects so very different from those it was intended and expected to produce, he exclaimed, in the coarse language of that age:

“Plague on them! I think they take delight in burning.”

Dr. Story, in his last will, charged his wife Joan not to set foot on the land of England, or carry his daughter thither (according to a promise she had made to God and him) until it were restored to the unity of the church, “except it be for the only intent to procure her mother to come thence; and in such case not to tarry there above the space of three months, unless she by compulsion be forced thereunto.”

There was discovered under the word “*Thomas*” a great A upon a bell, a punning rebus, plainly intended for the name of Dr. Thomas Abel, who was executed for treason in the year 1540.

It is very observable that a similar rebus for the name of the famous alderman Abel, the monopolizer of wines in the reign of Charles I. is given in the very fine and scarce portrait of him engraved by Hollar, and barely mentioned by Granger, who, from this circumstance, must have been an entire stranger to his history and character.

Dod, in his Church History, tells us, that Thomas Abel or Able, was educated in Oxford, where he completed his degrees in arts 1516, and, proceeding in divinity, became doctor of that faculty. He was not only a man of learning, but also very well qualified in many other respects. He was a great master of instrumental music, and well skilled in the modern languages. These qualifications introduced

roduced him at court. He became domestic chaplain to queen Catharine, wife of king Henry VIII. having at the same time the honour to serve her majesty in the several capacities above mentioned. The affection he bore towards his mistress engaged him in the dangerous controversies of the times. He opposed the divorce both by words and writings, and had the misfortune to incur a misprision, by giving too much into the delusions of Elizabeth Barton, called the Holy Maid of Kent. He was afterwards condemned to die, and executed in Smithfield, July 30, 1540, together with Dr. Edward Powel, and Dr. Richard Fetherstone, for denying the king's supremacy, and affirming his marriage with queen Catharine to be good. Three Lutheran divines suffered at the same time and place. Robert Barnes, D. D. Thomas Gerard, B. D. and parson of Honey Lane; William Jerome, B. D. and vicar of Stepenhith. Dr. Abel was author of a book intitled, "*Tractatus de non dissolvendo Henrici et Catharinæ Matrimonio*, 1534."

There was discovered also the name of "*Walter Paslew*, 1569." Who he was I have not been able to ascertain. It is observable in the motto or sentence he annexes, "*Extrema anchora Christus*, 1570," he has substituted, according to the fashion of the times, a picturesque representation of an anchor for the word "anchora." Also that of "*Eagremond Radclyff* 1576, *pour parvenir*," the undoubted autograph cut in stone, of a person, noble by birth, the son of Henry earl of Suffex, half brother to Thomas, then earl of Suffex, lord high chamberlain of the queen's household. But being young, says Strype, and of a haughty spirit, and a papist, he was engaged in the rebellion in the north in 1569, and made a shift afterwards to fly into Spain and Flanders. He ventured to Calais in 1575, and we soon afterwards find him committed to the Tower of London. Strype has preserved extracts from two letters from him in this confinement: one dated April 20, 1577, "most humbly



bly imploring of her majesty, for God's sake, to command him rather to be executed than to let him live in the torment of body and mind he was in."

By the other, dated May 6, 1577, to the lord treasurer, it appears that the queen had pardoned him on condition that he should immediately leave the kingdom.

He accordingly went abroad, and entered into the service of don John of Austria. He made an unhappy end, for, upon some accusation, as though he and some other English had entered into a plot to murder that governor of Flanders, he was executed the year following, though to the last he persevered in attesting his innocence. Strype concludes his account of him with saying, "But this is enough to have remembered of this unfortunate gentleman, and penitent rebel, but of a turbulent spirit. Egremont Radcliff."

There were found two inscriptions with the name of Charles Bailly, in the service of the queen of Scots. The first of these is much mutilated—the date April 10, 1571.—It was, however, made out nearly as follows: "*Wise men ought circumspectly to see what they do: to examine before they speak: to prove what they take in hande: to canvass whose company they use: and above all, to whom they trust.*"

The second inscription is pretty perfect: The initials plainly shew the abbreviations of the name of Christ in Greek. "*Principium sapientie timor Domini.*"

"*Be friend to one, be enemy to none. Hoping, have patience. A. D. 1571, 10 Sept. The most unhappy man in the world is he that is not patient in adversities; for men are not killed with the adversities they have, but with the impatience which they suffer.*"

"*Tout vient à point qui peult attendre.*"

"*Gli sospiri ne son testimoni veri dell' angoscia mia.*"

"*Æt. 29. Charles Bailly.*"

It

It appears from Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth and other authorities, that this Charles Bailly, or Bailif, as Camden spells his name, was a person engaged in the service and practices of the queen of Scots, who, coming over to England early in the year 1571, was the moment he landed at Dover seized and imprisoned. By the first inscription he appears to have been in the Tower on the 10th of April that year.

In Murdin's Collection of State Papers relating to Affairs in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, there is preserved a great deal of information concerning him. In a letter dated from his prison in the Tower, "this month of October, the 7th of my imprisonment, 1571," to lord Burghley, he most humbly beseeches his lordship "for God's sake, and for the passion that he suffered for us, to take pitie of me, and to bend your mercyfull eyes toward me, Charles Bailly, a poor prisoner and stranger."

Camden says he was a Dutchman by birth, but his name is plainly Scottish.

Having discovered, as he says, all he knew, he concludes with saying, there "restith no more for me, but after my prayer to God, all the quenes' majesties and your lordships enemys knowen, to the end they may be overthrowen and destroyed, and all their purposes and enterprises broken, most humbly to beseech your lordship to take compassion of me, in putting me to liberty; assuring your lordship that I will make an othe never to serve any Scottishman agayn, or stranger, whilest I lyve, but the queenes' majesty and your lordship, to whose service I have been addicted all the tyme of my being in this realme, and have been carefull to shew it in deede; and that your lordship will consyder that I am a stranger, who have no frend at all to help me with a penny, and that I am allready all naked and torne; and that all those that be touched by that I have already opened to your lordship, do laughe me to scorne for  
this



this my punishment and handlyng, who desyre no other thing but my destruction."

Of the following miscellaneous inscriptions I can give no account.

*" Raulff Bulmer 1537."*

This prisoner was most probably of the northern, ancient, and very respectable family of that name. By the date he had most likely been concerned in Afke's rebellion.

*" John Marten."*

No Date—some fragments of an inscription in old Italian.

*" George Ardern 1558."*

*" Roy Baynbrige 1586."*

*" Henrye Sckun 157\*\*\*."*

A foreigner, probably, by the name, a Dutchman.

*" Edwarde Smalley."* Another *" Edward Smalle."*

*" Robert Maleri 1518."*

The subsequent memorials of sir Geoffrey Poole are more interesting.

*" G Poole."* Another *" Geffrye Poole 15\*\*."*

Howe, in his Chronicle, p. 576, informs us, under the year 1538, that on " the 5th of November, Henry Courtney, marquise of Excester, and earle of Devonshire, and sir Henry Poole, knight, L. Montacute, and sir Edw. Nevil, brother to the L. of Burgavenny, were sent to the Tower, being accused by sir Geffrey

Poole, brother to the L. Montacute, of high treason, who were indighted for devising to maintain, promote, and advance one Reginald Poole, late dean of Excester, enemy to the king beyond the sea, and to deprive the king" ——— "The marquesse of Excester, earle of Devonshire, and Henry lord Montacute, were arraigned on the last of December at Westminster before the L. Audley, that was lord chancellor, and for the present high steward of England, where they were found guilty. The third day after were arraigned sir Edward Nevill, sir Geffrey Poole, two priests called Crofts and Colens, and one Holland, a marriner, all attainted. And the 9th of January were Henry, marques of Excester, earl of Devonshire, Henry L. Montacute, and sir Edw. Nevill, beheaded on the Tower Hill. The two priests Crofts and Colens, and Holland the marriner, were hanged and quartered at Tyborne, and Geffrey Poole was pardoned."

*" Thomas Fitzgerald."*

Plate IX.

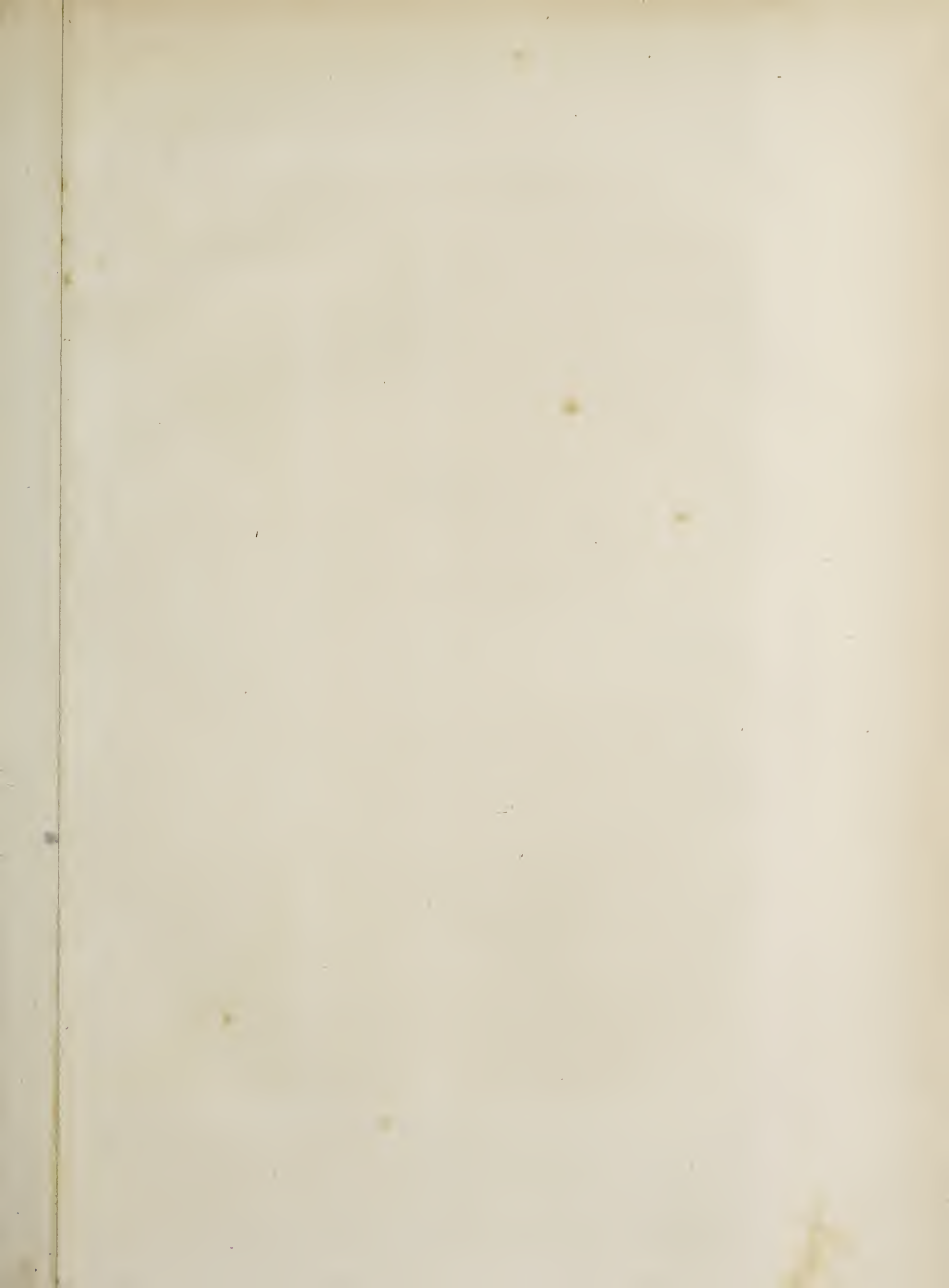
*" Hew Draper of Brystow made thys sphere the 30 Daye of Maye anno 1561."*

The subsequent curious particulars relating to this prisoner, and our ancient popular superstitions, are preserved in the Miscellany of Records concerning the Tower of London, communicated by Col. Matthew Smith, F. R. S.

*" Hugh Draper comitted the 21st of March 1560.*

This man was brought in by the accusation of one John Man an astronomer, as a suspect of a conjurer or forcerer, and thereby to practise matter againste S<sup>r</sup> William S<sup>r</sup> Lowe and my ladie. And in his confession it aperithe that before time he hathe ben busie and





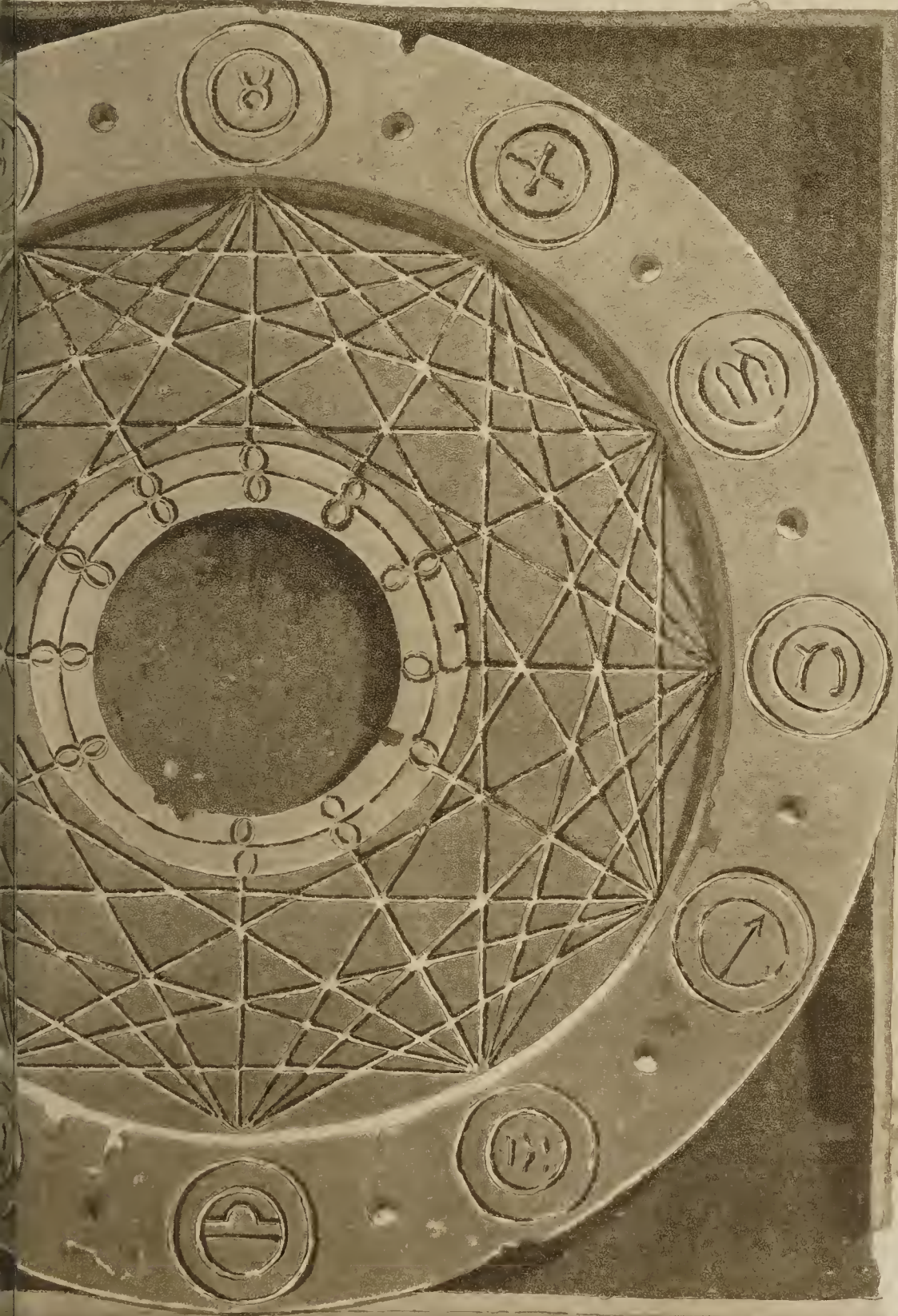






OF BRYSTOW MADE THYS  
DAYE OF MAYE ANNO 1561

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doinge with suche matters. But he denieth any matter of weight touchinge S<sup>r</sup> William Sentlo or my ladie, and also affirmethe y<sup>t</sup> long since he so misliked his science that he burned all his bookes. He is presently verie sicke, he semithe to be a man of goode wealthe, and kepithe a taverne in Bristowe, and is of his neighbours well reported."

VIII. *Copy of an Original Manuscript, entitled "Instructions for every Centioner to observe duringe the continuance of the Frenche Fleet uppon this Coast untill knowlege shal be had of ther dispercement, given by Sir George Carye, Captein, this fyrst of September, 1586 [a]." Communicated by Sir William Musgrave, Bart. F. R. S. and F. A. S..*

Read Feb. 16, 1797.

"**I**MPRIMIS, that all the beacons, especially thos of the est and west forlands be dubbed, garded with such watchmen as shal be of judgment and discretionn, uppon the fyrst occasion of approche

[a] The subsequnt extract from Strype's Annals, A. D. 1586, contains the history of this event.

"The queen this year had enemies on all hands of her, and continual apprehensions of invasion, especially from Spain, now that the queen had taken the people of the Low Countries under her protection. And to secure herself by sea sir Francis Drake was sent out with forty gallies, for defence and offence, and did notable execution, which our historians mention: and of this sir George Carew, governor of the Isle of Wight, gave intelligence from thence unto the earl of Suffex, lord lieutenant of the county of Southampton, upon occasion of the strong report that came to court, that they were all up in that Isle of Wight, which, as things then stood abroad, inclined men to believe. Whence the said lord lieutenant dispatched a letter to the said governor for information, which was answered on the day following, June 8, in the negative. He observes, however, that "the beacons of Ride should be well watched, to advertise his lordship upon any occasion whatsoever," and goes on as follows with further intelligence of the dangers on that side of the kingdom: "That it might please his lordship further



proche offered by the ennymie to rayse the laram by bells or hoblers; and yf they shall proceed forthe to landing to fyer the beacons.

That yow appoynt the ferchers of every beacon dilligentllye to attend ther charge from tyme to tyme, to advertis yow the centioners what shal be diseryed, and that uppon anny matter discovered yow advertise me with dilligens what shal be seen.

That yow appoynt the beacons sufficientlic to be supplied with fuell, and that yow appoynt for every day watche a gare [*b*], reddy uppon the fyrst occasionn to be hanged up.

That yow take order in all the perrifshes within your canten that no bells be ronge in the churche for service, christeninge, or burriall,

further to understand, that yesterday there arrived there a bark of that island that came from Newhaven, the company whereof made report that the speeches there were, that the king of France had sent to S<sup>t</sup> Tavyes in Portugal sixty sail of ships for salt, and was then preparing a fleet to go against Rochel, whereof ten sail came out of Newhaven, who were appointed to haul out of Newhaven as the day before; and that there were two English ships of Alborough, of the burthen of 140 ton a piece, the one had paid thirty crowns to be released, and the other stayed to serve. And that the common report was, that the king had sent to her majesty an ambassador, that if she would by any means aid Rochel, he would have war with her. That they further said, that the common report in Newhaven was, that the king of Spain had sent against sir Francis Drake forty galliasses and caracks; and that sir Francis Drake had burnt divers cities and towns in the India, which proved true enough."

Strype adds, that he repeats this letter, "that by this news and these reports the present condition of this kingdom may hence be better understood, and with what good reason the state now, at this juncture, had to look about them."

[*b*] Sir Henry Englefield thus explained the word gare—"Gare, in French, is beware. Carriages passing in a crowd are obliged to cry Gare, and are not answerable for mischief done by their horses after that notice. Gare was also used on another occasion at Edinburgh, and the persons throwing filth from their windows were subject to prosecution, if they defiled passengers, without that word of notice.

A Gare was therefore probably a signal flag, or some notice of that kind, hung out from the beacons by day when fire light would have been invisible."

but

but only on bel during this tyme, and uppon the alaram at the bells to be ronge out.

That yow appoynt fom of your hoblers [c] duringe this tyme stil to attend yow, and that ther horses be alwais in a reddines to pas in haft as occasion shal be offred.

That yow charge al your centens, as they wil anfwer to the contraire at their perrills, to provide themselves with powder, shott, and matche sufficient, and that they be in a reddines uppon the fyrste strocke of an alaram, to marche to the place of ther fyrst assembly, but that al that can com on horsebacke repayre in al haft to meet me at the place from whence the alaram shal be fyrst rayfed.

That every man carry into the feelde with him, when he goethe abroad, his furniture, that he may the soner be in a reddines to answer the alaram.

That every houfshoulder make provision in a reddines of meale or bread for on monthe, accordinge to the proportion of his houfholde, that we may kepe the feeld yf wee shall se occasion.

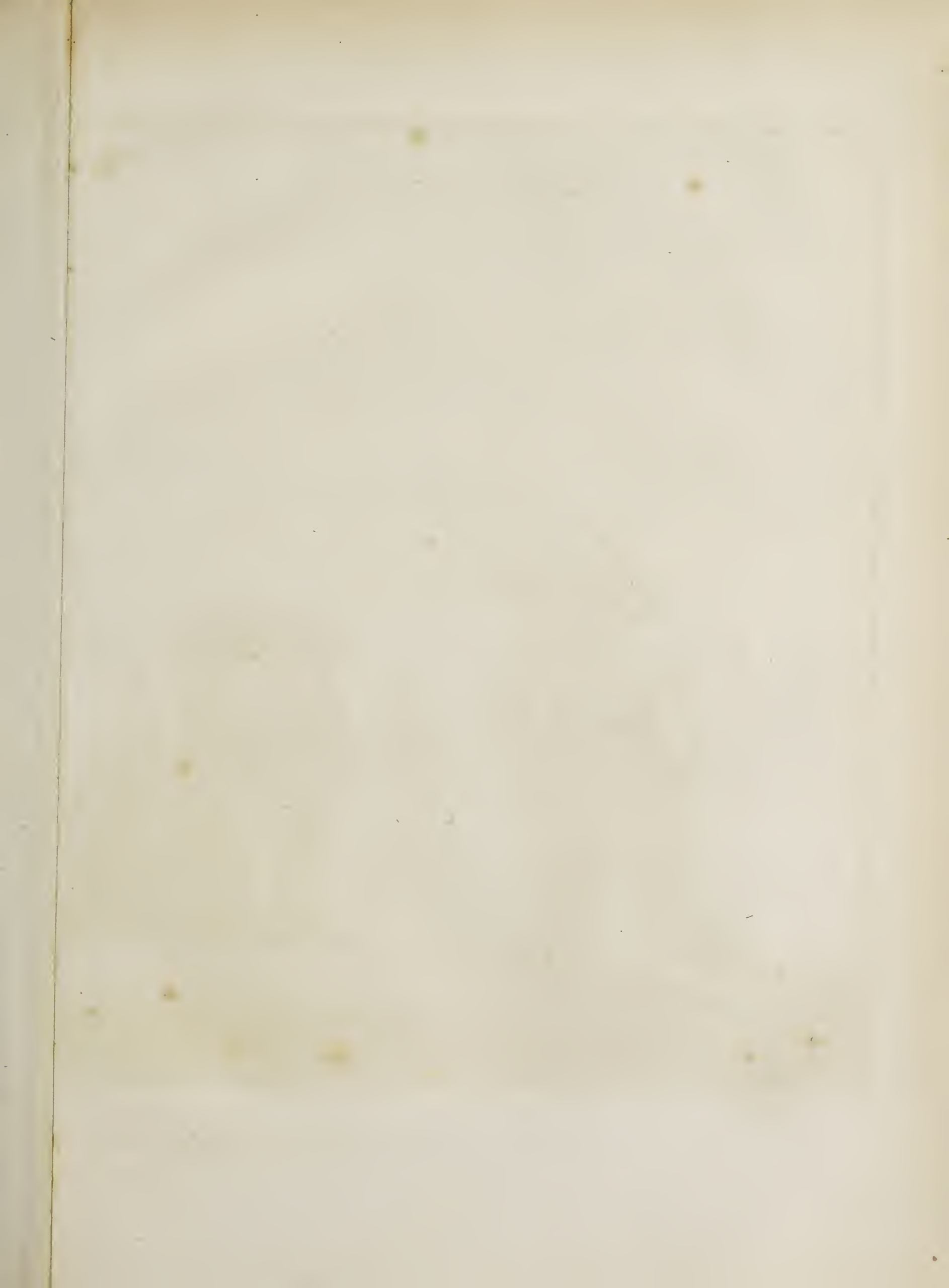
That yow observe, as well in watching and fringe of beacons, as in other occasionns of servis presented at this time in my former booke of Instructionns, and consider wel the contens thereof.

GEORGE CAREY.

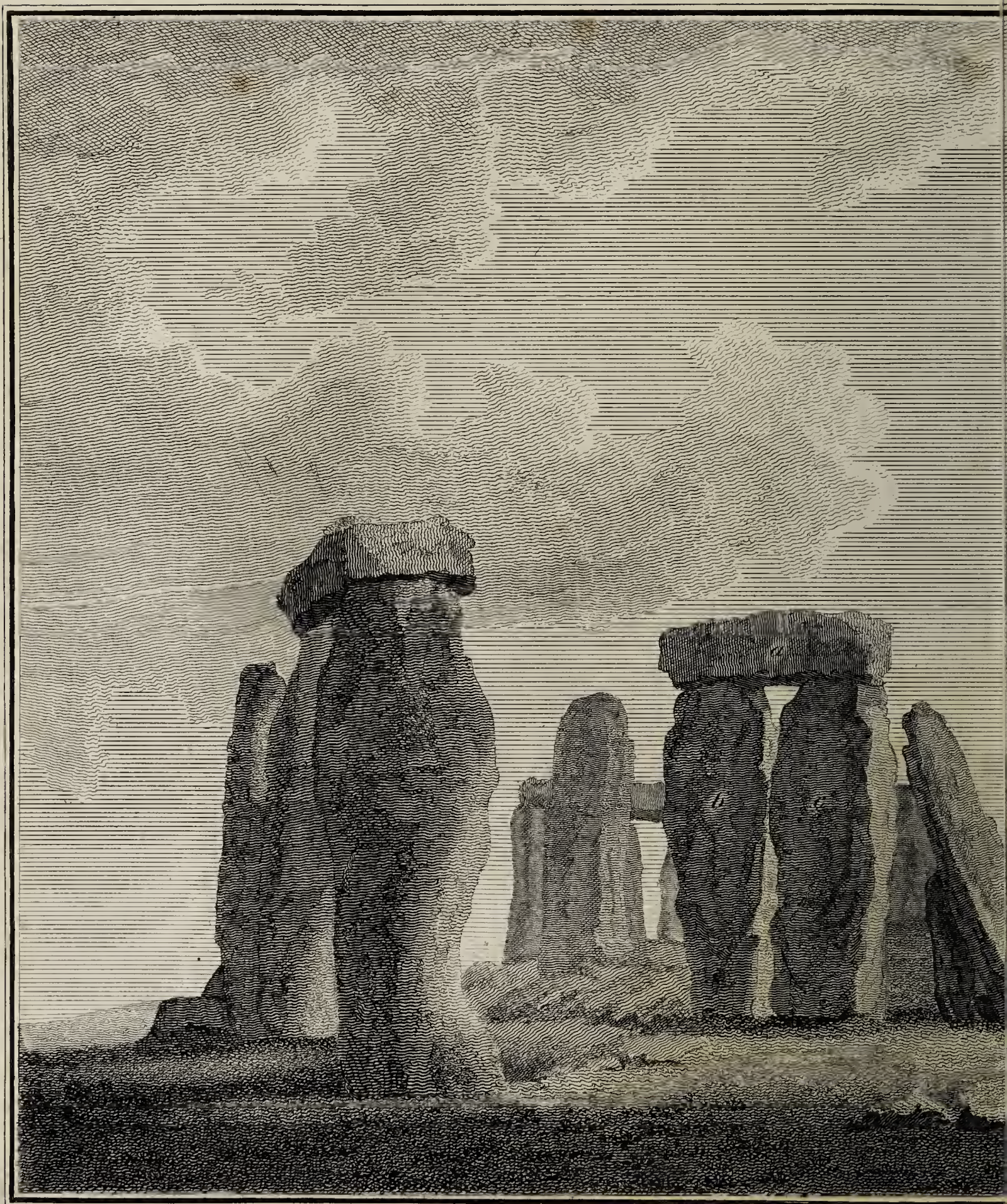
This to pas from M<sup>r</sup> Dingley to M<sup>r</sup> Erlfman, M<sup>r</sup> John Basket to M<sup>r</sup> Bowrnniam, from hande to hande in post."

[c] Camden tells us, in his *Britannia*, "It had been the custome antiently for horsemen, then called hobelers, to be stationed in most places, in order to give notice of the enemy's approach in the day."





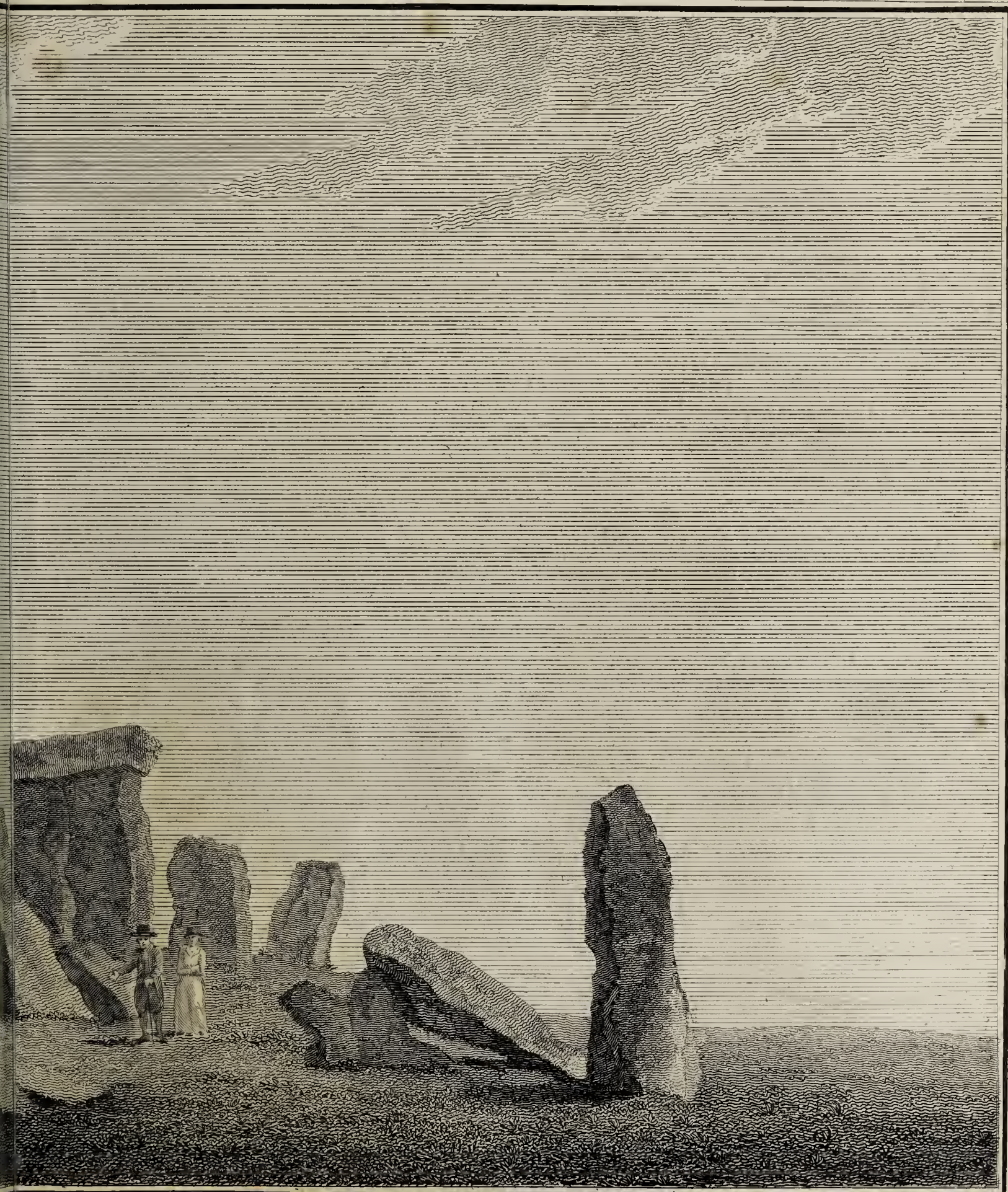




Rev. J. Rankin del.

*View of Stonehenge, as it appeared before  
the Trilithon*





J. Bafire Jr.

the 3<sup>d</sup> of January, 1797. taken from the W.  
lately fallen.







IX. *Account of the Fall of some of the Stones of Stonehenge, in a Letter from William George Maton, M. B. F. A. S. to Aylmer Bourke Lambert, Esq. F. R. S. and F. A. S.*

Read June 29, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING lately had more leisure to make remarks on the alteration produced in the aspect of Stonehenge, by the fall of some of the stones in January last, than when I first visited the spot for this purpose, I am anxious to lay before the Antiquarian Society a more full and correct account of it than that which you did me the honour to transmit to them before.

On the third of the month already mentioned some people employed at the plough, full half a mile distant from Stonehenge, suddenly felt a considerable concussion, or jarring, of the ground, occasioned, as they afterwards perceived, by the fall of two of the largest stones and their impost. That the concussion should have been so sensible will not appear incredible when I state the weight of these stones; but it may be proper to mention, first, what part of the structure they composed, and what were their respective dimensions.

Of those five sets, or *compages*, of stones (each consisting of two uprights and an impost) which Dr. Stukely expressively termed *trilithons*, three had hitherto remained in their original position and entire, two being on the left hand side as you advance from the  
entrance

entrance towards the altar-stone, and one on the right. The last mentioned *trilithon* [a] is now levelled with the ground. It fell outwards, nearly in a western direction, the impost in its fall striking against one of the stones of the outer circle, which, however, has not been thereby driven very considerably out of its perpendicularity. The lower ends of the two uprights, or supporters, being now exposed to view, we are enabled to ascertain the form into which they were hewn. They are not right-angled, but bevilled off in such a manner that the stone which stood nearest to the upper part of the *adytum* is 22 feet in length on one side, and not quite 20 on the other; the difference between the corresponding sides of the fellow-supporter is still greater, one being as much as 23, and the other scarcely 19 feet, in length. The breadth of each is (at a medium) 7 feet 9 inches, and the thickness 3 feet. The impost, which is a perfect parallelopipedon, measures 16 feet in length, 4 feet 6 inches in breadth, and 2 feet 6 inches in thickness.

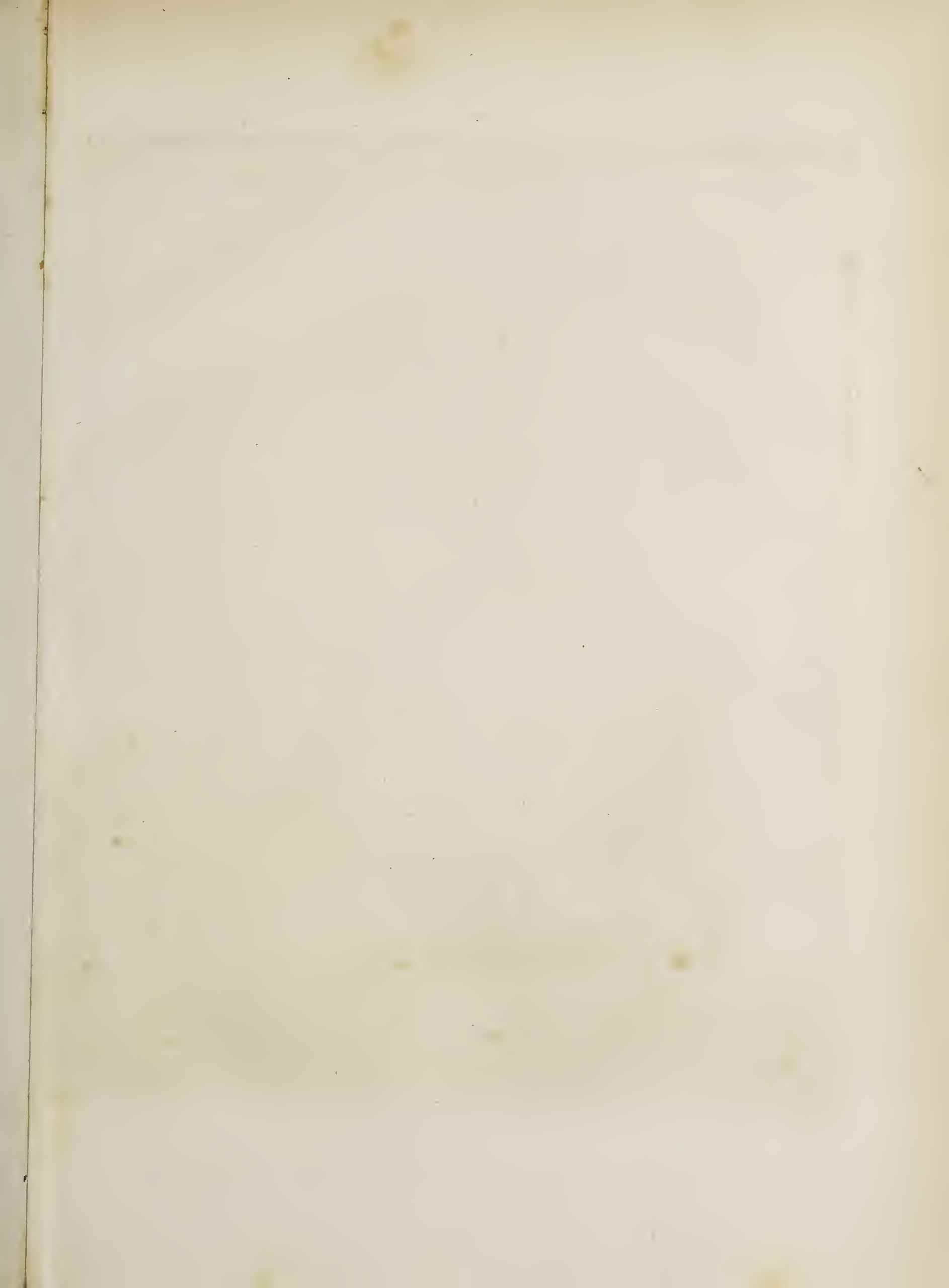
Now, a cubic inch of the substance [b] of which the above stones are composed, weighing, according to my experiments, 1 ounce 6 pennyweights, the ponderosity of the entire *trilithon* will be found to be nearly 70 tons. The impost alone is considerably more than 11 tons in weight. This stone, which was projected about 2 feet beyond the supporters, made an impression in the ground to the depth of seven inches, or more; it was arrested in its tendency to roll by the stone it struck whilst falling. The supporters, of course,

[a] Marked  $\frac{1}{2}$  in Smith's *Choir-Gaur*. This *trilithon* might, with great propriety, be called the western, as no one of the others stood more nearly west of the center of the structure.

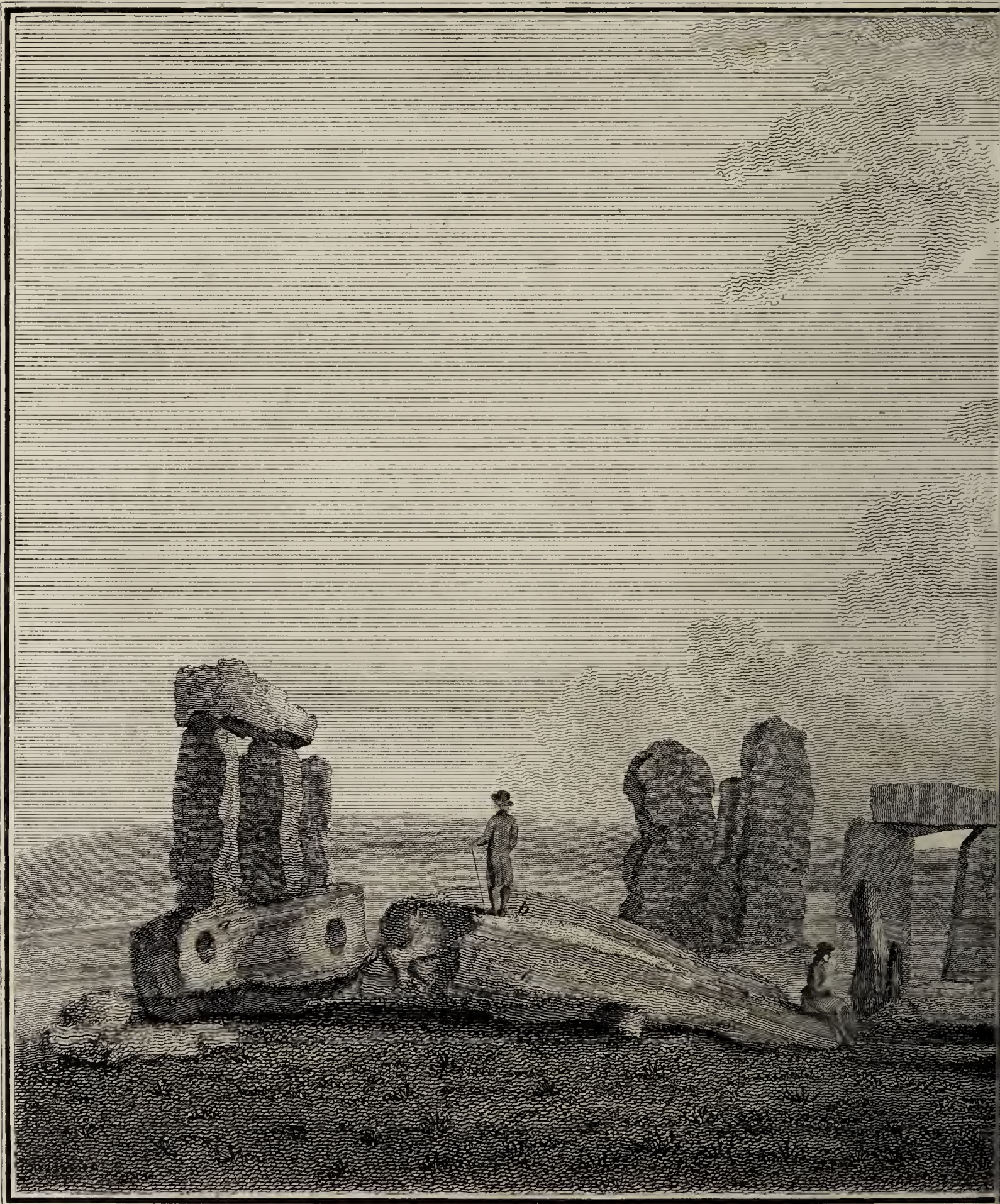
[b] This is a siliceous grit, of rather a loose texture, and of a dull whitish colour, with veins of brown, which seem to be occasioned by the oxydation of the iron contained in it. All the stones of the great oval, and most of those of the outer circle, consist of this species of rock.

have









W. Beechey del.

*View of Stonehenge, as it  
appears at the Hill.*

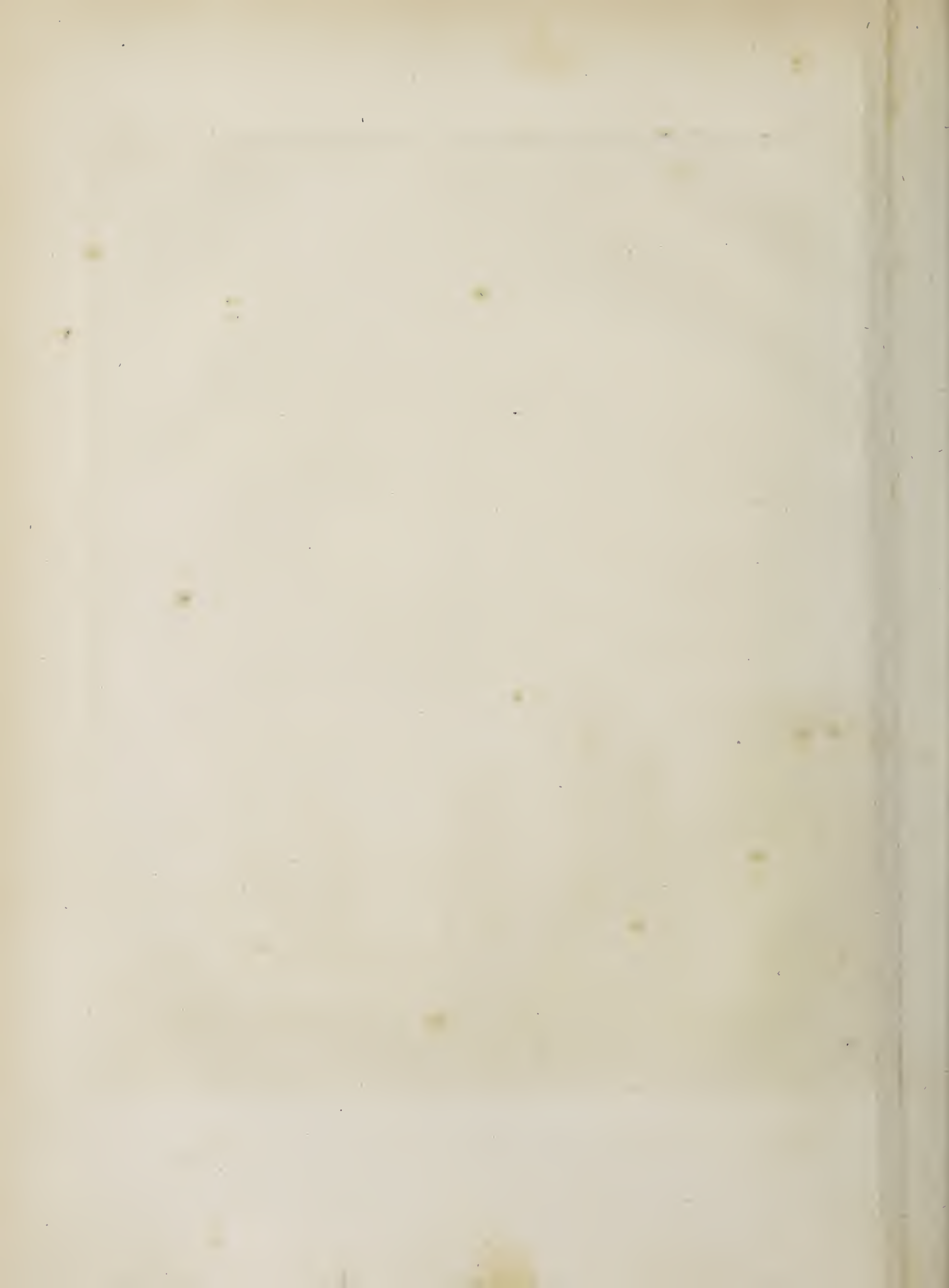




J. B. West.

now appears, taken from the S.W.  
one lately fallen.







have not sunk so deep; indeed, one of them fell on a stone belonging to the second circle, which I at first supposed to have been thrown down by it, but which, from recurring to plans of the prior state of the structure, I find to have long been prostrate.

Though I could not contemplate without emotions of peculiar awe and regret such an assault of time and the elements on this venerable structure, I must own these emotions were in some measure counterbalanced by the satisfaction of being now enabled to discover the original depth of these stupendous stones in the ground. It appears that the longer of the supporters was not more than 3 feet 6 inches deep (measuring down the middle), nor the other but little more than 3 feet. In the cavities left in the ground there were a few fragments of stone of the same nature as that forming the substance of the trilithon, and some masses of chalk. These materials seem to have been placed here with a view to secure the perpendicular position of the supporters.

The immediate cause of this memorable change in the state of Stonehenge must have been the sudden and rapid thaw that began the day before the stones fell, succeeding a very deep snow. In all probability the trilithon was *originally* perfectly upright, but it had acquired some degree of inclination long before the time of its fall. This inclination was remarked by Dr. Stukely, though it was not so considerable, I think, as is represented in his north view of Stonehenge. One of the supporters had lost much of its original bulk in consequence of corrosion by the weather, near its foundation; this circumstance also rendered it less secure. As both had so inconsiderable a depth in the ground, a sudden, though slight, diminution of the pressure of the latter against the inclining side must appear to have been fully sufficient, on account of the shock which the impost would suffer, to occasion the downfall of the whole.

We do not find the precise time of any alteration prior to this

upon record; it is therefore probable that none may have happened for several centuries, and the late accident being the only circumstance ascertained with exactness may be considered as a remarkable æra in the history of this noble monument of ancient art.

I am,

with every sentiment of respect,

Dear Sir,

Your sincere and obedient servant,

*London,*  
May 30, 1797.

WILLIAM GEORGE MATON.



X. *An Examination of an Inscription on a Barn in Kent; the Mantle Tree in the Parsonage House at Helmdon in Northamptonshire, as described by the Professors Wallis and Ward, revised; and Queries and Remarks on the general Use of Arabic Numerals in England. In a Letter from the Rev. Samuel Denne, F. A. S. to Richard Gough, Esq.*

Read Feb. 23; March 23, 30; May, 11, 18, and 25.

**B**Y the kindness of the Rev. Peter Rashleigh I have it in my power to convey to you drawings, of inscriptions and shields of arms placed in the walls of buildings that are appendages to Preston Hall in Aylesford; and they will afford me an opportunity of satisfying you that the date on one of them was without sufficient grounds advanced in the hypothetical controversy respecting the time of the introduction of Arabic Numerals into this country.

N<sup>o</sup> 1, (Pl. XII. fig. 5,) is on a window-frame of stone at the north end of a very large barn. There is an engraving of it in Mr. Hasted's History of Kent [a], and you will perceive (as, after inspecting the original, I hinted to you in a former letter) that in the Plate, o is not so near the centre of 2 as it ought to have been; but he is perfectly right in the suggestion that o was the character

[a] Vol. II. p. 175.

designed, there not being any reason to suppose that it was 6 or 9, and that a part had been obliterated.

N<sup>o</sup> 2, (Pl. XII. fig. 4,) is drawn from the impost of a door-case stopped up, in a building situated in a field not far from the barn. Mr. Hasted styles it an *outhouse*, an error of the press, as I imagine, for *oasthouse*, because when he saw it it was used for drying hops. He might also have given a fac simile of this inscription as corroborative of his opinion that 1102 must be the date meant, there not being any room for the smallest addition to 0 or to 1 that immediately precedes the cypher; though some have thought that the second unit might be designed for 5, and you seem inclined to believe it denotes 3. The inscription on the oasthouse, as it appears to me, was the more eligible of the two for a Plate, because T. C. is twice carved; once with the shield that has on it the arms of *Colepeper* only, and again with a shield on which the same coat is quartered with the arms of *Hardreshull*.

T. C. are unquestionably the initials of *Thomas Colepeper*; and it is observed by Mr. Hasted, that there was no person of those names possessed of Preston Hall between "Thomas Colepeper, son of John Colepeper, who about the middle of the reign of Edward III. married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of sir John Hardreshull, and who was therefore the first who could use the arms of Hardreshull quartered with his own, and Thomas Colepeper who died seized of this estate in 1587[b]."

[b] Vol. II. p. 174. Mr. Hasted notices sir John Hardreshull as being of Hardreshull in the county of Warwick. He was also possessed of the manor of Ashene in Ashton, in Northamptonshire, which came to sir Thomas Colepeper, son of John Colepeper, who married Elizabeth Hardreshull. Sir John was buried in Ashton church. In Bridges's History of Northamptonshire there is a plate of his monument, and in the inscription on it he is called Harteshull. (Hist. V. l. p. 283, &c.) Sir John Colepeper, probably a descendant of sir Thomas, was high sheriff of Northamptonshire in the reign of Henry VI.



Certain it is that in the reign of Edward the III<sup>d</sup> there was a Thomas Colepeper resident at Preston Hall; but in the other parts of the sentence which I have cited Mr. Hafted did not attend to his notes of the family, made, as he says, from a large MS. pedigree he had of the several branches of it, from a visitation of the county of Kent in 1626, and from other MSS. in his possession. From these documents it is evident [c] that Thomas Colepeper of Preston Hall was the son of Walter Colepeper, who died in the last year of the reign of Edward the II<sup>d</sup>, seized, as it is recorded in the inquisition taken after his death, of estates in Langley, Boughton, East and West Farleigh, Yalding, Malling, Brenchley, and Shipborne. Joane was the christian name of the wife of Walter Colepeper, and by her he had three sons. Thomas, the eldest, was of Preston Hall, and he dying without issue, the estate passed to his next brother sir Jeffery, who lived at Preston Hall, and was sheriff of Kent in the 39<sup>th</sup> and 43<sup>d</sup> years of Edward the III<sup>d</sup>, and he was the ancestor of the Colepepers, baronets, of Preston Hall. But Thomas Colepeper, son of John Colepeper, who married Elizabeth, heiress of sir John Hardreshull, succeeded his father in the manor of Bayhall in Pembury, and there kept his shrievalty in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> years of king Richard the II<sup>d</sup>. Nor can I collect from any part of the pedigree, as detailed by Mr. Hafted, that there could have been resident in Preston Hall any male descendant from the Colepepers of Bayhall, who, as such, could have any pretension to the arms of Hardreshull. The claim, as I conceive, must have been founded on the marriage of Thomas Colepeper, who died in 1587, with Margaret Colepeper, daughter of Thomas Colepeper of Bedgbury in Goudherst, who was lineally descended from the Colepepers of Bayhall, and if so, their son Thomas Colepeper, who succeeded

[c] Hafted's Kent, V. II. p. 174.

his father at Preston Hall, and died in 1602, had a right to quarter the arms of Hardreshull with his paternal coat. Viewing the inscription on the oasthouse in this light, T. C. with the Colepeper arms single might have reference to the father, and the other T. C. with the shield quartered, to the son. The style of structure of the oasthouse is conformable to the buildings of that age, and the same observation will apply to the barn.

Under a notion that the figures on the window-case were competent evidence of an earlier introduction of Arabic numerals into this country than had been hitherto supposed, a far greater antiquity has been imputed to the barn than an examination of it will warrant. Dr. Harris, indeed, only terms it an antient barn [d]; but as he at the same time averred that the date ascertains the then use of the common figures in Kent, such a positive assertion implied a belief of his having thought that some part of the barn at least might be of that age. And though Mr. Hasted observes that the quartered shield of arms proves this date to have been put up subsequent to the year 1300, yet by styling it a stone building he wished to have it understood that it was older than it really is; and the draughtsman he employed has countenanced the deception, by exhibiting the frame as set in a stone-wall.

In the bird's eye view given of this feat and its environs by Harris, there is such a representation of the barn as must have convinced the doctor, had he attended to it, that his notion of its very high antiquity was erroneous; and I suspect, that the barn itself was not closely inspected by either historian, as will appear from the following description of it.

The side walls of the northern bay are constructed with stone to the height of about six feet and nine inches, but along the other

[d] Harris's History of Kent, p. 32.



bays the height is gradually lessened; and near the south end there is a very low underpinning of stone, and above the stone work to the eaves the sides are boarded. The south end of the barn, almost from the ground, is of brick, and was not ever covered with plaster as it is displayed in the view. In this wall there is a stone-window frame that I think never had on it any inscription or armorial shield. In the plan, by an oversight, the numeral figures are set in this wall, whereas they are in the north end wall, which is of brick, raised upon rag-stones of the height of six feet, and the four corners of the barn have coigns of stone of the same kind. The oasthouse is entirely of brick, except that there are stone coigns at the corners. This building is of workmanship not inelegant, and were it viewed by a surveyor conversant in ancient architecture, I am assured he would not fix its age before the end of the sixteenth century. But its being constructed with brick subverts the presumption of its being coeval with the date of the year insculped upon it.

What can be the signification of this date is then the question? And Mr. Hasted's answer is, that it denotes either the time when the Colepepers came into this county, or perhaps that of their settling at Preston-Hall. The latter appears to me to be the more plausible surmise, though I apprehend it will ever remain destitute of proof positive, as the name of Colepeper has not been found in any writing previous to the reign of king John. This is advanced on the authority of Philipott, who, in *Villare Cantianum*, observes, that "the first of the family whom he found eminent in record was Thomas de Colepeper, who, as appears in the bundle of uncertain years in the pipe-office, was one of the *Recognitores* [e] *magnæ Assizæ* in

[e] *Recognitores magnæ Assizæ*. Both Philipott and Hasted mistook the province of *Recognitores*. "It was," remarks the former, (*Villare Cantianum*, p. 271) "a place of

in that prince's reign." But the citation is so loose that it cannot be deduced from it, where the person named discharged this office of a juror, or where he resided. The anecdote is related by Philipott in his account of Bayhall Manor in Pembury, and by Hafted under the manor of Preston and Allington.

To Thomas Colepeper, by whose direction the numerals 1102 were affixed to the barn and oasthouse, supposing them to specify a year (and they can hardly be otherwise construed) they must have marked what he deemed an important era in his family; for before my late excellent friend Dr. Joseph Milner improved this seat, and took down a high wall that was in the front of it, there were two more inscriptions bearing the same date. One of them, as mentioned by Mr. Hafted, was on a chimney, the other, as noticed by Dr. Harris, on an old stone-portal on the left hand of the gate. And if the family had really inhabited this mansion five hundred years, it is not in the least surprising that a descendant should be solicitous to thus perpetuate so memorable an event. And should it have been his intention to apprise the many Colepeper plants which had long flourished in different parts of Kent that they were scyons from the Preston Hall stem, it was a spice of vanity that was excusable.

As the name of Colepeper does not occur in Domesday book, it ought not to be inferred that any of the family held lands in Aylef-

of eminent trust and concernment, if we consider the meridian of those times for which it was calculated, that is before the establishment of *conservators of the peace*." "And," observes the latter, "the *Judges of the Great Assize* held an office of no small account in those times." The *Recognitores*, however, were only *jurors*, and their inquest was not of a criminal, but civil kind; for the statute of king Henry the 11th, called *Assiza* by Glanville, ordained, that under the direction of the *justices itinerant*, twelve good and lawful men, sworn to speak the truth, should make *recognition* whether a man died seized of land, concerning which any doubt had arisen, and likewise *de novis diffisinis*. (Reeves's History of the English Law, V. I. p. p. 54, 56. 8vo edit.)

ford



ford when that survey was made; but there is not any thing improbable in the supposition that a parcel of the lands therein described as being in the crown might be very soon after granted to one of them; and it is indisputable that lands were long enjoyed by them under the denomination of the Manor of Preston and Allington. With respect to the royal manor of Aylesford, a tenure by ancient demesne that was purchased in the second year of king James the 1st, by the sir Thomas Colepeper, of whose names the letters in the inscriptions are the initials. But be the firmness well founded or groundless, that the inscription is commemorative of a family epoch, the figures themselves will not cast a ray of light on the introduction of Arabic numerals, as the sculptor would clearly give a preference to figures that were most convenient, and most in use at the time he was employed; nor can there be any reasonable doubt of the buildings not being erected before the close of the sixteenth century.

Particularities in the materials of buildings, and in their style of structure, might be found to operate as forcibly against other dates imagined to be of very high antiquity, had the edifices on which they are exhibited been carefully surveyed. Of this opinion was bishop Lyttelton, who, in a Dissertation on the Antiquity of Brick Buildings, thus expressed his sentiments. “ Our very worthy and learned brother, Dr. Ward, in his ingenious remarks on Arabian Numerals, impressed in Relief on a brick building at Shalford in Bucks, has satisfactorily proved that the date could not be 1182, as was supposed, but rather 1382. He founds his objection upon the Arabian or Indian numerals being of later introduction into this part of Europe than the twelfth century. But had he known that the oldest brick building here (posterior to the Roman government) reached not higher than the close of the fourteenth century, this alone would have been a very strong argument against the sup-

posed antiquity of the Shalford date [*f*].” And possibly these figures might have admitted of another amendment, viz. of 1582 for 1382. Mr. North, in his letter to the earl of Morton having justly observed, that, “in deeds of the reign of Elizabeth the figure 5 is frequently so like the figure 3 as to make a recourse to the other part of the deed necessary to ascertain it [*g*].” And all will allow that in sculptured inscriptions there is likely to be greater difficulty in decyphering the figure.

A misconception of the dates in which some Arabian numerals are clearly discernible, has occasioned much perplexity; and to me it appears very, very dubious, whether the date on the mantle-tree of the chimney in the Rectory-house of Helmdon in the county of Northampton, has not hitherto been misread. The fame of this mantle-tree extended from England to Germany, from Oxford to Wirtemberg [*h*]; and I choose to refer to it, because it was the first inscription brought forward in the controversy. Dr. Wallis communicated his sentiments upon it to the Royal Society, and with his paper was exhibited a drawing of the whole mantle-piece, of which there is an engraving in the Philosophical Transactions [*i*]. With the hope of rendering what I have to offer upon the subject the more easily understood, my ingenious and obliging neighbour, Mr. Peete of Dartford, has furnished me with the enclosed fac simile of this engraving, as also with a copy of the engraving of

[*f*] *Archaeologia*, V. I. p. 140. For the opinion of Dr. Ward there is a reference to *Philosophical Transactions* abridged, V. X. p. 1265.

[*g*] *Archaeologia*, V. X. p. 370.

[*h*] *De characteribus numerorum vulgaribus et eorum ætatibus, &c.* A Joanne Friderico Weidlero, et M. Georgio Weidlero—Witembergiæ, 1727. p. 14. An account of this Dissertation was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, V. XLIII. Art. I. N° 474. It was communicated to the Royal Society by Professor Ward.

[*i*] *Ibid.* Vol. XIII. N° 154. The same Plate is also published in his *Treatise of Algebra*.



the inscription from a drawing made in conformity to Professor Ward's idea of it [k].

In Dr. Wallis's letter to Dr. Plot he writes—"I have given you this particular account of the mantle-tree, and caused it to be exactly delineated, that upon the whole matter you may see how little reason there is to suspect any thing of forgery and imposture." That the Doctor had not any intention to deceive the Royal Society I am fully persuaded, though not equally satisfied of the exactness of the drawing. Or if it be a fac simile, there is a part of the inscription which shall be by and by noticed, that might not, as I apprehend, be accurately carved.

Notwithstanding the avowed particularity of Dr. Wallis's account, he neglected to mention the kind of mansion and room in which he met with this ornamented mantle-piece, a point that deserved some regard. For supposing the parlour to have been coeval with the date of the year that the Arabic numerals 1133 import, it is an older room than Westminster Hall; and if the whole building was of the same era, Helmdon Parsonage is probably far more antient than any other rectory-house in the kingdom. But if, which is the only probable supposition, the edifice had been rebuilt again and again, and had likewise undergone many repairs in the course of five centuries and a half, does it not somewhat border on the marvellous that all the workmen employed should have been so extremely careful as not to have in the least injured this relic of antiquity? for the Doctor apprises us "that he did not remember any other defacing than a late paring off of one letter with a knife, by a person whom curiosity prompted to see the colour of the wood underneath."

[k] Philosophical Transactions, V. XXXII. Tab. II. Fig. 2. See also V. XXXIX. N<sup>o</sup> 439, p. 127.

The inscription is thus read by him—*M Domi An<sup>o</sup> 133*; but Professor Ward, on a closer examination (and possibly under a prepossession that Dr. Wallis had assigned too early a period for the introduction of Arabic numerals) thinks, that one of the characters had been misunderstood, and that it ought to be 1233. What had been taken for the second 1 being really 2 will not, however, on inspection of the fac simile, satisfy an unbiassed person that an error must not also be imputed to the Professor, and that what Dr. Wallis took for 1, and Dr. Ward for 2, is the further stroke of the second *n* in the abbreviated word *anno*. And this being granted, the character to denote the century must be sought for elsewhere. The *M* for 1000 they both allowed to be on the pannel in which the inscription begins, and what place more proper for the character which marked the hundreds? though, as before hinted, either from a want of expertness in the sculptor, or of accuracy in the delineator, it is not easy to decypher the figure annexed. Take the whole for one character and it will make an *M* very uncouth, and perhaps an unique [*l*]; but let the second have been a character denoting 5, the obscurity will lessen, and the date alluded to would be 1533. To the adding of Arabian figures to Roman numerals neither of these learned professors made any objection, they having met with the same mixture of characters in MSS. And I will produce a specimen from a monumental inscription which will warrant this reading of the Helmdon date. It is in the church of Stamford in the same county, and on a stone commemorative of sir John Cave. According to Bridges it is thus insculped—*Ann<sup>o</sup> D<sup>ni</sup> M<sup>o</sup> D<sup>o</sup> 58* [*m*].

[*l*] In the Dissertation of the Weidlers already mentioned are these words. *Quæ (inscriptio) in laterculo nostro Figura I. exhibetur.* But *M* is not a fac simile of the figure or figures in the Plate communicated by Dr. Wallis.

[*m*] Bridges's Hist. of Northamptonshire, V. I. p. 582.

Between



Between this inscription and the Helmdon date there is this difference, that in the latter the numerals for the tens and smaller figure are placed at a distance from the other characters. There seems, however, to have been a studied conceit and quaintness in arranging the inscription, brief as it is. I cannot refer to any other inscription in which the word *Domini* is set before *anno*; and here it might be so placed under an opinion that the numerals for one year only would more aptly follow *annus*. And it is well known that the learned in that age were pleased with such a jingle in the termination of words as would be occasioned by *Millesimo, Quinquagesimo, Domini, Anno, tricesimo, tertio*.

It was a rule laid down by Professor Ward that any coin, inscription, or manuscript, with a supposed date before the thirteenth century expressed in Arabic figures, may justly be suspected either not to be genuine, or not truly read, unless the antiquity of it be certain from other clear and undoubted circumstances, and that the date will bear no other reading; and if it be a copy, that it be taken with exactness. In support, therefore, of the doubts I have suggested on his mode of reading the Helmdon date, I shall by this rule be warranted to remark, that so far from the imputed antiquity of it being evident from other unquestionable circumstances, the form of the chimney-piece and its embellishments seem to betray an anachronism, by exhibiting marks of a later period than the thirteenth century.

Dr. Wallis observed that in one half of the front of the mantletree there is a dragon with wings, and on the other half three panels with the date. Three other panels having on them what he termed a flower, and a single panel that had two letters within an escutcheon. In my opinion there is besides on the dexter division one particular, though not noticed by him, far more likely, as it is there placed, to have occurred to a mechanic of the sixteenth than

of

of an earlier century; and on the sinister division there is likewise, as I apprehend, a particular which will establish the date of the year I have mentioned.

A dragon volant is not indeed any novel object; you find it often sculptured from the times of the Saxons to the present days. It was not only the device on the royal standard of Wessex, but a bishop had conducted armies under it [n]. On a Saxon arch in Ditton church in Bucks, under the inscription is a winged-dragon with a fish's tail, opening its mouth at an angel [o]. St. George is frequently displayed on horseback trampling on a dragon, and the figure of Martin, abbot of Peterborough, who died in 1158, treads on a double dragon, who bites the pillars of the flowered arch of the canopy of his tombstone [p]; and you have observed that a dragon is sometimes pierced by the crozier of a bishop in his pontificals.

In later days, however, this animal was again elevated from a posture so humiliated and subdued. By the command of Henry the IIIrd, a dragon, in the manner of a standard of red samet, embroidered and otherwise richly adorned, was placed in Westminster abbey [q]. And in the family picture of Henry the Vth, which was the altar piece of his chapel at Shene, there was a red dragon flying in the air. One of the banners which Henry the VIIth set up in Bosworth Field had painted on it a red dragon, in allusion to his descent from Cadwallader. When he arrived in London he offered it in St. Paul's cathedral as a trophy of his victory, and in commemoration of the same he instituted the office of Dragon Pursuivant. King Henry the VIIIth bore his arms at first supported on the dexter side by a red dragon, and in the middle of his

[n] *Archaeologia*, V. IV. p. 51.

[p] *Sepulchral Monuments*, I. p. 24.

[o] *Ibid.* V. X. p. 168.

*Archaeologia*, V. III. p. 225.



reign he transferred the dragon to the sinister side. It may be presumed that it was from the partiality the king had to this badge that the dragon is so frequently displayed in the picture at Windsor Castle, representing the interview between the English and French monarchs; and as sir Joseph Ayloffé in his description suggests, it was probably from this circumstance there is seen on the top of the picture the figure of a dragon flying in the air over the English cavalcade. But in the sculpture under examination there is one object not noticed by Dr. Wallis that yet seems to have a connexion with the dragon volant, and, as already intimated, it will better correspond with the age of Henry the VIIIth, than with the age of either Henry the I<sup>st</sup> or III<sup>d</sup>; and that is the *fleur de liz* neatly carved, at least neatly engraved.

We may, it is true, observe this device in the crown of the first Henry[r], and a few other representations of it may likewise be traced; but it was not till the crusade of 1090 that even the king of France introduced the fleur de liz into his armorial shield; nor was it before the reign of our Edward the III<sup>d</sup> that it had a place in the royal arms of England. From that time the display of it became frequent. I shall, however, only mention what I think cannot be deemed irrelative to the notion I have advanced, that in the Windsor picture, where there are four beasts supporting in their paws banners of the king's badges, one is a dragon bearing up a vane azure charged with a fleur de liz.

Let us now take a view of the sinister division of the mantle-tree, and particularly of the shield bearing two capital letters, imagined by Dr. Wallis (and I concur in his opinion) to denote the initials of the names of the then rector of Helmdon. Probable is it, that not having a pretension to a coat of arms, he might thus mark

[r] Sepulchral Monuments, I. Pref.

the escutcheon; and his having a surname is a distinction that ought to be attended to. For in the twelfth century how few of the inferior clergy had a surname; and in the next century *de* was commonly inserted between the two names, of which the latter alluded to the place of birth, or to a place or object chosen for a peculiar reason. There is scarcely a list of parochial incumbents in Bridges's History of Northamptonshire that will not verify this observation, but it will be sufficient to examine that at Helmdon[s].

From 1283 to 1350 are entered nine rectors, and every one of them has *de* prefixed to the surname. *Walter de Kancia* being the first of them, I was led to search whether the second letter on the shield might not have been designed for *K*, but it is clearly *R*; and as he vacated the living in 1283, he could not have been incumbent in 1133, and not likely to have been so in 1233. To not one of the six following incumbents will the letters apply, nor to the next, William Buncke Reede, there being two christian names prefixed, and he being rector from 1409 to 1414. The twelve succeeding rectors must also be set aside; but as Mag. Will. Renalde, A. M. the twenty-ninth rector, was instituted in 1523, only ten years previous to the date I have allotted to this inscription, it so exactly tallies as to render it most probable that he was the rector who adopted this mode of informing those who came after him that they were obliged to him for this handsome decoration of their parlour-chimney. Concerning the embellishments on the other shields, termed by Dr. Wallis a flower, I have not a surmise to offer, not having met with a figure exactly similar, though this may be known to persons conversant in architectural ornaments.

By way of contrast I will recommend it to you to examine with the enclosed drawings an engraving in the Gentleman's Ma-

[s] Bridges's History, V. I. p 174.



gazine [1] of a curious ancient barn at Calcot in the parish of Newington Bagpath in the county of Gloucester, that has on its porch an inscription noticing its being built in the year 1300. In an end wall of this barn there is a window that plainly exhibits a coetaneous mark, there being so many windows of that pattern still discoverable in churches of the same age. A search will be fruitless in buildings of an earlier age for a window framed after a model resembling that of the Preston Hall barn. The characters on the Calcot barn, both letters and numerals, are also coeval; not so 3, 3, in the Helmdon inscription, with the form of that figure in the twelfth century, and an unequivocal inscription carved on stone in Arabic figures previous to the fifteenth century, I suspect, may be still a desideratum. Mr. North and others have proved that many of the specimens produced will not stand the test; and even Professor Ward allows that some which were considered as numerals were really letters specifying initials or abbreviations of names.

Mr. North, in his letter to the earl of Morton [u] already cited, ventured to foretell that a different account from that suggested in the Philosophical Transactions would hereafter appear, if the original piece of wood remained at Helmdon Parsonage undefaced. Though not apprized of this circumstance, I have attempted to fulfil in part this prediction on a closer view of the delineation and description given by Dr. Wallis, who had seen the mantle-tree; and should it have been preserved a century beyond his time, it is to be wished that it may be re-examined. But if the reasons adduced will warrant my reading of the date, the principal basis on which the hypothesis of a very pristine introduction of Arabic numerals is built must be so much weakened, that it will be extremely difficult to find any substantial proofs to uphold it; none assuredly from

[1] For the Year 1795, May. Pl. III.

[u] *Archaeologia*, V. X. p. 371.

the Preston Hall date, though Dr. Harris, in aid of a premature conclusion, has cited with a degree of confidence the numbering of the leaves of the famous *Textus Roffensi* in Arabic figures; for, as he alledges, “ they are, by appearance, of the same age with the *Textus* itself, and that, if so, they ascertain the use of these numeral figures in Kent thirty-one years before the time assigned by Dr. Wallis, because it was probable that bishop Ernulf, the compiler of the greatest part of this ancient MS. finished it about the year 1120 [w].”

Harris does not, however, seem to have been aware of the very great improbability of his surmise, that Ernulf should have been so fully acquainted with the force and convenience of these figures, as to have applied them for the purpose suggested, and yet that not a single Arabic figure should, by accident, have slipped from his pen into the body of the work, though the compiler has specified the dates of the years recorded, together with the value of many of the donations to his church, and of other articles possessed by the priory; and in several of the pages the insertion of these numerals would have saved the writer much time and trouble, and parchment, which was then a dear commodity [x]. No less extraordinary is it that John de Westerham, who, after being prior of this religious house, was promoted to the see of Rochester early in the fourteenth century, must have been assuredly well read in the *Textus*, should not have marked the leaves of *Customale Roffense* in like manner, and have otherwise availed himself of the use of

[w] History of Kent, p. 32.

[x] Upon this conjecture of Dr. Harris, Dr. Pegge “ thinks it to be a point very doubtful, since the numerals that appear in the book where they are often applied are always Roman, a strong presumption that these characters on the top of the leaves have been added since.” *An Historical Account of the Textus Roffensis Bibliotheca Topographia Britannica*, N° XXV. p. 28.



these figures in a work replete with numerals. This observation is equally pertinent to *Registrum Temporale Roffense*, a MS. compiled chiefly under the direction of Hamo de Hethe, who was bishop from 1319 to 1352. And may I not advance, without running a risque of its being disproved, that there is not in any episcopal or other ecclesiastical office, a register of the twelfth, thirteenth, or fourteenth century, whose folios have contemporary marks in the vulgar figures?

This of course leads to an inquiry when these figures became general, either in arithmetical accounts or in denoting years and days; and possibly the result of an investigation may be, that evidence positive will be wanting to prove any such early use of them as has been inadvertently conceived by some persons, and by others implicitly adopted. In my retired situation I am not by any means prepared to pursue this inquiry far; but it will give me pleasure should the questions I mean to propose, with not foreign surmises and remarks, serve as inuendos to guide others in the search, who may have opportunity to examine public libraries, or more copious private collections than are within my reach.

On the imaginary era of the introduction of Arabian numerals into England the under-written verses were quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of the year 1783 [y], from the *Dreme* of Chaucer, line 430, et seq.

#### THE WEDDE.

“ Shortly it was so full of bestes  
That though *Argus the noble Countour*  
Yfate to rekin in his countour  
And rekin with his *figures ten*,  
For by the *figures newe* all ken,

[y] Vol. LIII. p. 406.

If they be crafty, rekin and nombre  
 And tell of every thing the nombre,  
 Yet shulde fail to rekin even  
 The wonders we met in my sweven.

By another correspondent in the same miscellany [z] these lines were not thought to afford any elucidation of the subject, and the person who appealed to them was certainly incorrect in his transcript. Admitting, however, THE FIGURES NEWE to imply that they were not known long before Chaucer composed this Dreame, the question is not improper, whether for more than a century afterwards there are any traces of reckoning and numbering with figures TEN by any English Argus, who was a crafty and professed countour; and therefore my first article of inquiry shall be, Where is to be seen the oldest original MS. public or private, of a pecuniary account in which all the sums received and disbursed are entered in Arabic figures?

From what I can recollect of Madox's History of the Exchequer, (a book which I have it not in my power to consult) we shall search in vain for any such ancient statement in any department in that office. Clear is it from the wardrobe account of king Edward the Ist, published by the Society of Antiquaries, that all the sums are specified in Roman characters; and I have understood that in the like accounts of several succeeding princes there is not an Arabic figure to be seen.

Turn we then to the registers of monasteries, where considerable sums of money were received and paid, and the accounts kept with great exactness. Custumale Roffense has been already mentioned, and a reference shall now be made to the second volume of Decem Scriptorum, in which are many items of the income and expences

[z] Vol. LIII. p. 639.



of the abbey of St. Austin at Canterbury. To these I may add accounts in *Registrum Roffense* by Mr. Thorpe, other pages of registers not published by him, and the consistorial and archidiaconal acts of that diocese; and I am much mistaken if in any of the accounts a coeval Arabic figure will be discovered before the conclusion of the sixteenth century.

Mr. Boys, who has had access to all the records of Sandwich, and who, while he was writing his history of that town, and of many places connected with it, examined the books and papers with the closest attention, acquaints me that no Arabic characters occur in the accounts before the middle of the sixteenth century; and in the old churchwardens accounts of the parish of Lambeth, which begin in the year 1505, there is not for several years a common figure inserted, all the entries being in Roman characters. The churchwardens accounts of Shome, a parish not far from Rochester, are entered in Roman numerals as late as the year 1621; and yet it is observable, that the common figures are used to mark the date of the year 1556, the second and third years of the reynes of Philipp and Mary, kyng and quene. For private accounts I may refer to the Northumberland House Book, wherein the same numerals are used; and in the original letters published by the late sir John Fenn, "the respective sums which William Ebesham had received for transcribing books for his worshipful master sir John Paston, and what was paid about the year 1459 [a]," are in the same characters. And should it be remarked that these are only negative proofs, the answer is obvious, that such a series of them as might be produced will preponderate, whilst there is not, as yet, any positive proof to put in the opposite scale.

But as the chief evidences in support of an early introduction of Arabic numerals were drawn from inscriptions, some rudely executed, others mutilated, and others where the supposed figures al-

[a] Vol. II. p. 10, et seq.

luded to names not to numbers, the second article of inquiry shall be after inscriptions, carved, punched, or stamped, on stone, or wood, on brass, or other metal, in which the whole date of the year is unquestionably given in Arabic figures. Perhaps I shall be thought too venturous when I suggest a belief that of the fourteenth century no such inscription, or fac simile, can be exhibited; and that the numbers even of the succeeding century will be found comparatively few. To abate the surprize that this insinuation may at first excite, it should be considered that neither in Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral, nor in Sepulchral Monuments, is there a tomb-stone or tablet of the fourteenth century that bears these numerals. The first date of this kind that has, it seems, occurred to you, is 1858 (1454) on a brass plate on a tomb in Ware church, in memory of Elen Cook.

In several county and more local histories there are, indeed, sundry epitaphs printed in the common figures; but I am assured in many instances, and I rather suspect it to be true in all, that from negligence, or expedition and convenience, the first copiers of them, or the subsequent transcribers, or the printers, have made use of these figures instead of Roman numerals. But had the artists who engraved the inscriptions on brass plates been well acquainted with the Arabic figures, (and if in general use their ignorance of them is unlikely) would they not have adopted these characters when the stone, or the brass-plate, on which they were to work was so scanty as not to allow sufficient room for all they wished to insert? Abbreviations were almost always necessary, and we therefore find that the initials only of the Roman characters were employed; and in not a few we meet with millo, or millesimo, for the thousandth year, and a competent number of c<sup>s</sup> for the centuries.

Possibly it may be urged, that as the epitaphs were composed in Latin, the numerals in that tongue were most suitable. We, however, find them in manuscripts upon very different subjects, and



written in English, and where, from the frequent recurrence of numerals, a more concise mode of expressing them would have been preferred had it been commonly known. I will refer you to the petition of the citizens of Winchester, anno 1450—sic in *Archaeolog. Vol. I. p. 91*—to king Henry the VIth concerning the ruinous state of their houses, in which the number of houses unoccupied were ix<sup>c</sup> iiij xx and xvii, and which, when published in *Archaeologia* [b], it was judged advisable for the ease of the reader to mark by the figures 997.

Another presumptive evidence of the no general use of these numerals in marking dates, may be deduced from their not appearing on seals and coins till a long time after Wallis and Ward had pronounced them to have been commonly used. Knowing that Mr. Boys was possessed of many fac similes, it was my request to him that he would be pleased to communicate to me his sentiments on this matter. His answer, in a letter to Dr. Latham, was, “I have examined every probable part of my collection of inscriptions, and all my seals, and can find no instance of Arabic numerals before the commencement of the sixteenth century, except on one seal, an impression of which I shall send, because I am solicitous to have the inscription decyphered. It is a fine seal, well engraved and preserved, and the letters plain, but I cannot appropriate it. The date is 1<sup>s</sup>888 (1484) the 4 being represented as half 8, the form then in use; and you are apprized that this form was continued from the middle of the fifteenth to near the middle of the sixteenth century.”

From the same motive that Mr. Boys sent me the impression of this seal I shall transmit it to you, not being able to determine to what priory it belonged; though if it be, as I much suspect it is,

[b] Vol. I. p. 91.

a foreign seal, it does not directly fall within my line of investigation. In the collection of seals in Scotland, engraved at the expense of the Society, there is not, as I believe, a single seal that has a date; but the Cottingham seal, of which there is an engraving in *Vetusta Monumenta* [c], has a date, and the difference between the mode of marking this date and that used in Mr. Boys's unknown seal, is striking. Ancient inscriptions on monuments, as you have observed, are "expressed in a circumlocution of phrases, or in Roman, or Romano Lombardic characters." On the Cottingham seal (dated A. 1322) though the inscription is in French, Latin numerals for the hundreds and tens (cccxx) are placed between mill. and secunde. On the other seal the date is noted in four common figures; nor is it an improbable surmise, that before the introduction of Arabic numerals, dates on seals were so unfrequent, because the margins would not allow room for so many characters as were necessary.

There was a still greater difficulty in dating coins that were much smaller than most seals, and, according to sir Martin Folkes, there was not a coin minted in England before the sixteenth century that had the date of the year impressed upon it [d]. Snelling suggests his belief that the penny of Edward the VIth, A. 1547, is the first English coin that bears the date of the year, which is in Roman characters; and Folkes notices a piece somewhat broader than a groat of the same year, on which the date is thus marked, M. D. X4 7. Sic in Folkes, p. 28 [e]. Indeed, under the reign of Henry the VIIth he mentions a very uncommon and singular coin, of which the inscription is *Mani. Tecke4. Phares. 1494*; but this he supposes to have been coined by the dukes of Burgundy for Perkin Warbeck, when he set out to invade England in that

[c] Vol. I. N° 5.

[e] Ibid. p. 28.

[d] A Table of English Silver Coins.



year [f]. And the same learned author describes a groat of Henry the VIIIth struck at Tournay in Flanders, that carries the date of the year 1513, when he was at that place [g].

From the books of our earliest printer, Caxton, another evidence of the no common use of Arabic numerals may be deduced. As far as I can collect from Tanner's catalogue of them in *Bibliotheca Britannica*, and from Lewis's *Life of Caxton*, in not one of these volumes is the date of the year of publication noticed in the common figures. It is also observable, that when the leaves are numbered capital letters are used, as they are in the signatures of the sheets. The common figures which are printed in Lewis's *Life of Caxton* might warrant a supposition of their occurring in several parts of the books he has quoted; but I must own I am rather apt to suspect that in this case, as well as in the epitaphs inserted in the *Histories of Faverham abbey and the Isle of Tenet*, he for his own convenience, when making the extracts, thus wrote them; and I think it will be readily admitted that Caxton could not have found a want of many types (if any such he had) of Arabic numerals, because they could so rarely have occurred in the MSS. which were to pass under his press.

7 blended with 8, and placed between the initials of his names, was Caxton's device; and some have thought this cypher, as an abbreviation of 1474, might be commemorative of the year when he began printing in England. But though Caxton's books are not dated with Arabic numerals, you inform me, on the authority of Ames, that *Rhetorica Nova Gulielmi de Saona*, one of the first books printed at St. Alban's, has this impression 14Λ8.

Respecting the no general use of these figures in marking dates previous to the sixteenth century one more evidence shall be offered;

[f] A Table of English Silver Coins, p. 19.

[g] Ibid. p. 24.

and that is the Paston Letters. For in the two first volumes of that collection I have discovered only one letter in which the year of our Lord is so noted, and I am inclined to believe this may not be a fac simile of the original. The letter to which I allude is in Vol. I. N<sup>o</sup> XLV. (p. 184.) of the reign of Henry VI, subscribed by W. Botoner, called Wyrcester, addressed to sir John Berneye, and thus dated—"Wret at London hastily the Monday after I departed from you 1459 $\alpha$ ." There are several circumstances which render it suspicious that 1459 might be a subsequent explanatory insertion, not detected by the editor, attentive and accurate as he generally was. In the first place Botoner has not noticed the year of our Lord in his other letters; nor is there in them but one instance more of an Arabic numeral. This merits the more regard, because in these letters he frequently makes use of the Roman capitals. I have subjoined the repetitions, and have also added copies of the dates of his other letters [h]. The forms of 4 and 5 shew it not to be a coeval date, and  $\alpha$  being placed after the last figure, the fair conclusion is, that it had been preceded by capital letters.

Except in these two particulars, viz. 1459, and A<sup>o</sup> 36, Hen. VI. I have not perceived in either volume any date of year or month so marked. Indeed the year of our Lord is not noticed in any letter, and possibly the omission might be often owing to the number of

[b] Letter XVII.—p. 76. from Bote H. R. ner to Maister Paston.

—————p. 78. Wryt hastily VIII day of June.

Letter XXXIV. p. 140.—W. Botener to Maister John Paston, &c.

—————p. 142. Wryt at L. (London) the V day of Jullet.

Letter XXXVII. p. 150. W. Botoner dit. Worcesty<sup>r</sup> to Sr John Fastolf.

—————p. 152. Wrete at London the fyrst day of Feu'rer, A<sup>o</sup> 36. R. H. VI.

—————p. 150. CXL. hors.—iiij<sup>c</sup> hors—iiij<sup>x</sup> Knyghts and Sqwyers.

ij<sup>c</sup> hors.

p. 152. Wythnne thys VI. wekes.

capital



capital letters that would have been requisite for the purpose; and it is besides frequently signified that the letters were written hastily. The year of the king's reign, however, is often specified, as also the day of the month, or of the faint nearest to it, but always in Latin numerals.

Observing in Plate VI. N<sup>o</sup> 31, annexed to these letters, a specimen of the Arabic figures which the editor said were then in use, I expected to have seen many of them; but unless I have overlooked them, they are only to be met with in p. p. 152, 184, of Vol. the I<sup>st</sup>, which have been just examined, and in Vol. the II<sup>nd</sup>, p. p. 300, 302, on the margin of a paper with this title—"The Inventory off Englyshe Boks of John                      made y<sup>e</sup> v daye of Novemb<sup>r</sup> A<sup>o</sup> R. R. E. iiij." And yet there are not fewer than one hundred and fifty-five of these letters and papers, and all of them written in the years 1440—1486; that is, two hundred years subsequent to the time when Dr. Wallis imagined them to have been in common use. "These figures," writes the Doctor [*i*], "seem to have come in use in these parts about the eleventh century (or rather in the tenth century, about the middle of it, if not sooner), though some rather think not till the middle of the thirteenth, and it seems they did scarce come to be of common use till about this time."

Such, Sir, are the grounds on which I have thought myself warranted to controvert a notion that has long prevailed of a too early frequent use of the vulgar arithmetical figures; nor is it improbable that it might be the more readily acquiesced in from its having been zealously maintained by two very eminent professors. They, however, did not coincide in their opinions respecting the introduction and confined use of Arabic numerals; for Dr. Ward

[*i*] Treatise of Algebra, Preface, page 2.

thought no specimens were to be found before the thirteenth century, and Dr. Wallis imagined they might be traced in the times of the Saxons. Manuscripts indisputably coetaneous must decide this point; and with all due submission to their talents, natural and acquired, when applied to other subjects more in their own lines of pursuit, the manuscripts ought to be examined by persons better conversant in this branch of antiquities than these learned men seem to have been, if a judgment may be formed of their penetration and experience from their unsuccessful readings of inscriptions on stone and wood.

Mr. North has well criticised Dr. Ward's exposition of the date on the gateway near the great bridge at Cambridge [*k*]; and you have made some pertinent remarks on his erroneous conception of the letters in the Rumsfy window, as well as on the figures on the Mantle Tree at Saffron Walden, that are more likely to have been meant for vine tendrils on the Ton, that was part of the device of the name of Mydleton [*l*]. And after what I have suggested in the foregoing pages, may I presume to advance that Dr. Wallis's view and report of the Helmdon mantle-tree inscription deemed by him a paramount proof of the truth of his hypothesis, was superficial and unsatisfactory?

Not long after Dr. Wallis communicated his paper to the Royal Society, he was favoured by a learned friend [*m*] with a copy of an inscription over the great gate of the college of St. Augustine at Bristol, which was concluded with these numerals 1170; and this

[*k*] *Archaeolog.* V. X. p. 372.

[*l*] *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. II. N° 19.

[*m*] *Cono-cuneus*, &c. fol. 1684. *Additions and Emendations*, p. 153. The friend referred to was Dr. Thomas Smith, fellow of Magdalen college in Oxford (a reverend and learned person, and a curious observer of antiquities, both at home and in foreign countries, as far as Greece and Turkey).



was his comment—“ Where instead of 4 we have the same figure reversed ; but either of them doth equally agree to what was the old shape of this figure  $\bar{X}$ . And the difference of it from what we now use, doth rather confirm the antiquity than give us any cause to doubt of its being genuine. And this inscription being but seven years later than that on the mantle tree (at Helmdon), they do mutually confirm each other.” But besides that there does not appear to be any resemblance between the 4 proper or reversed, and  $\bar{X}$ , the then existence of any such date added to the inscription, is questionable.

In the same page of his Additions and Emendations Dr. Wallis has cited a book printed at Hamburg in 1614, to shew that a mixture of Latin numerals and Arabic figures cannot seem strange. But the first book that was printed would not be admissible evidence in this case, without authenticating the date of the MS. from which it was printed, and this the doctor had allowed, as will appear from the annexed extracts, whilst he was remarking on a MS. of Boethius, and on an ancient MS. treatise of ecclesiastical computation [n].

By

[n] Treatise of Algebra, p. 9. “ I know that in the editions which we now have of Boethius, Bede, and other ancient authors, these figures are now frequently used : but I do not believe they were found in the ancient manuscript copies from whence these printed copies were taken ; but, in those, all their numbers were expressed by the Latin numeral letters (and in divers ancient manuscripts I have so seen it), and therefore I do not bring those as an argument of their antiquity, nor do I believe they were in use (in these western parts) when these authors were first written.” I find these figures also used in an ancient treatise of ecclesiastical computation, in verse, called *Masse Computi*, of which I have seen divers copies in MS. and I think it is also printed, which he says was written in 1200. But though we may from hence gather the age of this work to have been about the year 1200, yet I confess it doth not from hence follow certainly that they were then in use ; however, we now find them in some of those copies which we have, for it is possible that in the first original, the numbers here

By the several persons who engaged in the controversy it was agreed that the Arabic figures were first used in this country in astronomical tables and other mathematical writings; and, says Dr. Wallis, it was by little and little they came into common use, and common practice [o]; but, as already observed, he fixes this common use to the thirteenth century, though it is undeniable there is a want of evidence to ascertain this practice either in the two first rules of arithmetic, or in specifying dates and other particulars that required numeration. Had a country mechanic in the tenth century been in the habit of noting the year of building a tower or a gate, it is scarcely credible that these figures so applied should not have been found in some part of every manuscript that recorded the foundation and endowment of a monastery. And if, as the lines cited from Chaucer's *Dreme* may import, these figures then newe, were used in addition and subtraction towards the end of

as well as in Bede's books, *de computo*, might be designed in numeral letters, and so in one copy I find it to be. But in others, the numbers are designed by the numeral figures, and (these appearing otherwise to have been in use at that time) we may as well think, they were so used in this, yet so as that the numeral letters were in use also, as even to this day they are. *Ibid.* p. 11, 12.

[o] *Ibid.* p. 9. "As to the time when these numeral figures began first to be in use amongst us, Voffius tells us that they have not been in use above 350 years, at least not 400 years at the utmost—i. e. they were not in use till the year 1300, or at farthest before 1250. But I take them to be somewhat more ancient than so, not in common use, but at least in astronomical tables, which we transcribed from the Moors or Arabs, and afterwards by degrees came into common use, till at length they became generally used in all arithmetical computations, as being much more convenient for that, than otherways of designing numbers."—"Upon the whole matter, therefore, I judge that about the middle of the eleventh century, or between the year of our Lord 1000 and 1100, these figures came into use amongst us in Europe, together with other Arabic learning, first on the account of astronomical tables and other mathematical books, and then by little and little into common practice." *Ibid.* p. 13, 14.

the



the fourteenth century, it is sufficiently strange, though perhaps not quite unaccountable, that such a mode of reckoning should not sooner have been more general. The perplexity and tediousness of working Roman capitals to a person of an unretentive memory will appear on an examination of several of the sums printed from *Custumale Roffense*, in which there are long strings of shillings and pence in the same column, that not many could cast up exactly without the assistance of pen and paper; or, as the clown in the play acknowledged, without counters [*p*]. And, though there was an improvement in the statements of accounts by ranging the pounds, shillings, and pence, in different columns [*q*], yet still in long and intricate sums it was admitted by a master of arithmetic in the middle of the sixteenth century, that the “feat with the counters would not only serve for them that cannot write and read, but also for them that can do both, but have not at some time their pen or tables ready with them [*r*].”

I am not aware that any reason has been assigned for the very slow progress in the practice with Arabian numerals, for upwards of a hundred years after they were certainly known in this country. May it not, however, be attributed, partly to the general state of knowledge and literature in the fifteenth century, partly to a pertinacious adherence to old habits and forms, which is not uncommon even in more enlightened times; and perhaps, a little to pecuniary motives? Frequently has it been observed, and with truth,

[*p*] *The Winter's Tale*, Act IV. Scene III. “Clown. Let me see, every eleven weather tods, every tod yields——pounds and odd shillings, fifteen hundred shorn, what comes the wool to? I cannot do it without compters.”

[*q*] It however often happened that shillings, amounting to pounds, were placed in the shilling column.

[*r*] *Record's Arithmetick*, 12<sup>o</sup>, 1658, p. 179.

that

that in the fifteenth century, there was in England a disgraceful neglect of the arts and sciences; and though we read lists of persons styled great mathematicians and philosophers [s], no discoveries of importance did they make, no books did they write that have been thought worthy to be perpetuated in print. In an age, therefore, so incurious and idle, (unless when in search of the elixir of life that was to cure all diseases, and make old people young, or of the philosopher's stone, that was to transmute the baser metals into fine gold or silver) it was not likely that scribes and scriveners should be solicitous in their inquiries after figures newe, or willing to change the old characters they were trained to use, and for the writing of which they were liberally paid [t]; or if a more easy mode of reckoning was pursued, they might have their doubts whether the profits of their craft would not be lessened by it. As late as the conclusion of the sixteenth century the persons employed by churchwardens to keep the parish accounts made use of Roman capitals [u], and in public offices all change was carefully

[s] "John Sommer about 1390; John Walter about 1400; William Batecombe about 1410; William Buttoner about 1460; were very eminent in other kinds of learning, and particularly in mathematics; and divers of their works are extant in our libraries, which have not been printed." *Treatise of Algebra*, p. 6.

[t] *Paston Letters*, V. II. p. 810, Note. "We are here furnished with a curious account of the expences attending the transcribing of books, previous to the noble art of printing. At this time the common wages of a mechanic were with diet 4d. and without diet 5d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , or 6d. a day. We here see that a writer received 2d. for writing a folio leaf, three of which he could with ease finish in a day; and I should think that many quick writers at that time would fill four, five, or even six in a day; if so, the pay of these greatly exceeded that of common handicraft men."

[u] "I find by our parish books that the churchwardens and overseers of the poor stated their accounts in numeral letters till since the year 1600." *Bibliotheca Literaria*, Number VIII. p. 8. The title of the paper is, *An Historical Essay concerning Arithmetical Figures and their use*. But the parish in which the writer lived is not mentioned.

avoided,



avoided, from an apprehension that there might be in innovation, the seeds of confusion. In the ledger books of merchants and tradesman at the end of the fifteenth, and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, (should there be any such remaining) items of receipts and payments in the vulgar figures may be discovered; but I somewhat question their being met with in any other MSS.

Printing must have accelerated the progress of Arabic numerals. By that excellent invention there would be an increase of scholars in arithmetic, and the knowledge of it attained with greater facility. Nor could the compositors of the press have had the same prejudices against these figures that the writers and transcribers of MSS. might entertain, because it might affect their livelihood. A cursory view of a proof sheet, upon which were impressed the same sums of money in the common cyphers, and in Roman capitals, would immediately satisfy an impartial examiner which class was the more eligible.

In the middle of the sixteenth century Robert Record, fellow of All Souls college in Oxford, and doctor of physic, published his perfect *Work and Practice of Arithmetic*. It was dedicated to king Edward the VIth, and contained two dialogues between the master and scholar, the former of them teaching the art and use of arithmetic with the pen, the second the accounting by counters. Of this book the first edition in 8vo. was in 1540; the second in 8vo. with *Augmentations*, by Jolin Dee, in 1590; and a third, in 12mo. enlarged by John Mellis, in 1658, of which I have procured a copy. And as the dialogues are printed in black letter, it may be presumed that all the numerals, whether letters or figures, correspond with those characters in the original edition.

Both Wallis and Ward mention their having seen in MSS. the Roman characters blended with Arabian figures; and it has been shewn that there is the like mixture in inscriptions on monuments and coins. Record has given all his examples in common figures,

but his rules are illustrated in words, letters, and figures. Under the chapter of Numeration, page 9, he states, "There are tenne figures that are used in arithmetick, and of those tenne one doth signifie nothing, which is made like 0, and is privately called a cypher; though all the other sometime be likewise named: the other nine are called signifying figures, and are thus figured:

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

And this is their value:

i. ij. iij. iiij. v. vi. vij. viij. ix."

A specimen of his method of illustrating an example shall be subjoined in a note [w].

The author has not suggested a hint as to the time when, or the persons by whom these figures were brought into England [x].

[w] Page 13. "A general Rule—Scholar. If I make this number 91359684, at all adventures, there are eight places. In the first place is 4, and betokeneth but foure; in the second place is 8, and betokeneth ten times 8, that is 80; in the third place is 6, and betokeneth six hundred; in the fourth place 9 is nine thousand; and 5 in the fifth place is XM times five, that is fifty M. So 3 in the sixth place is CM times 3, that is CCCM. Then 1 in the seventh place is one M.M. and 9 in the eighth ten thousand thousand times 9 that is XCMM—i. e. (at p. 14) XC thousand thousand CCCLIX thousand, 684, that is VIC.LXXX.iiij."

Fortunate is it for the clerks in the revenue department, and in the Bank and other money offices, that they are not bewildered with an accumulation of M<sup>s</sup> D<sup>s</sup> C<sup>s</sup> L<sup>s</sup> V<sup>s</sup> X<sup>s</sup> and I<sup>s</sup>; and extremely would it puzzle the head of the craftiest Argus, or bull or bear at his counter at Jonathan's, or the Stock Exchange, had he not the knowledge of figures tenne for numbering on a rencountre day his gain, or as a lame duck lofs by speculating in consols and omnium. For every age has its peculiar technical language, that antiquaries in later days find it difficult to decypher.

[x] Record's Arithmetick, p. 17.—"Master. I might shew you here who were the first inventors of this art, and the reason of all these things that I have taught you, but that I will reserve till ye have learned over all the practice of this art, lest I should trouble you with over many things at the first."

But



But in the preface there is an historical paragraph which I will quote, as it may be a means of tracing the use of these figures before he published what he styles the *Ground of Arts*. “If (he writes) any man object that other books have been written of Arithmetick already so sufficient that I needed not now to put pen to the book, except I will condemn other men’s writings: to them I answer, that as I condemn no man’s diligence, so I know that no one man can satisfy every man: and therefore, like as many do esteem greatly other bookes, so I doubt not but some will like this my booke above any other English Arithmetick hitherto written; and namely, such as shall lack instructors, for whose sake I have so plainly set forth the examples, as no booke that I have seen hath done hitherto, which thing shall be great ease to the rude readers.” The last article of inquiry, therefore, shall be after those writings or books (it is not clear from the passage cited whether they were in manuscript or print) to which Record alludes. And I think it is not a strained inference from this treatise of a great arithmetician, that in his days the Arabian numerals could not have been in very common use, when the master found it requisite to explain to his scholar in such an heterogeneous method the force, value, and utility, of these now vulgar figures.

Mortifying is it as well as astonishing to observe the slow progress formerly made in acquiring a science, a proficiency in which is now so easily obtained; for a stripling at a school in a country village can now by the help of these figures in a few minutes work a sum, that the eminent Roger Bacon could not have reckoned perhaps in a whole day with Roman capitals. And such being the benefit that has accrued to people of every degree and station in society by this admirable discovery, much is it to be regretted that neither the sagacious inventors, or Indians or Arabians, nor the introducers of it into England or Europe, should be known,

notwithstanding the assiduous and commendable endeavours of many learned men to rescue their names from oblivion [y].

But it is high time for me to finish my surmises, queries, and remarks, on this subject. They will, I trust, amuse you, and tend to convince you, if not of my ability, yet of my readiness to engage in a long task that resulted from your desiring me to examine the much talked of old date on the Preston Hall barn. Whether what I have written may be thought of sufficient importance to be communicated to our intelligent and respectable brethren at Somerset Place, is submitted to the judgment of Mr. Director, by

Dear Sir,

Your faithful

and obliged Servant,

*Wilmington,*

*November 22, 1796.*

SAM. DENNE.

[y] See Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup> 439, Article III. Some Considerations on the Antiquity and Use of the Indian Characters and Figures. By Mr. John Cope.



XI. *Additional Remarks on the Helmdon Mantle-Tree Inscription, and on the Knowledge and Use of Arabic Numerals in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries. By the Rev. Sam. Denne, F.A.S.*

Read June 1, 1797.

**I**T was observed by the late Dr. Johnson [a], that “ of an art universally practised the first teacher is forgotten ;” and strictly applicable to this general position is the declaration of Mr. North, that, “ though next to the art of printing there is no invention of more extensive use than that of the numeral figures or cyphers, yet; when, where, and by whom they were invented, are questions never perhaps to be clearly answered [b]. Despairing, therefore, of success in such an investigation, the inquiries I proposed were limited to periods when the vulgar figures of arithmetick were certainly known in England, and my humble attempt was, and is, to mark the very slow progress made for centuries in the use of these rudiments of a science, an ignorance in which is now deemed disreputable in those who have acquired other branches of a liberal education.

Respecting the time of the introduction of Arabic numerals into this country Dr. Wallis imagined that he had perceived traces of

[a] Lives of the Poets, V. II. p. 109.

[b] Archaeologia, V. X. p. 361.

them among our Saxon ancestors; but he was confident that they were in use on ordinary occasions before the middle of the twelfth century, from his having discovered on a mantle-tree in the parlour of the rectory-house of Helmdon in Northamptonshire, the year 1133 manifestly carved. This being repeatedly averred by so eminent a professor on his own view, and he having presented to the Royal Society, by way of illustration, what he called an accurate drawing of the chimney taken by his own direction, it cannot be matter of surprize that a professor of a foreign university should have readily acceded to it, nor that other men of learning should have implicitly adopted it. And as in the two editions of Chambers's Dictionary, and in the Cyclopædia Britannica, there is not any demur to the evidence produced, it may have been generally considered as authentic and decisive.

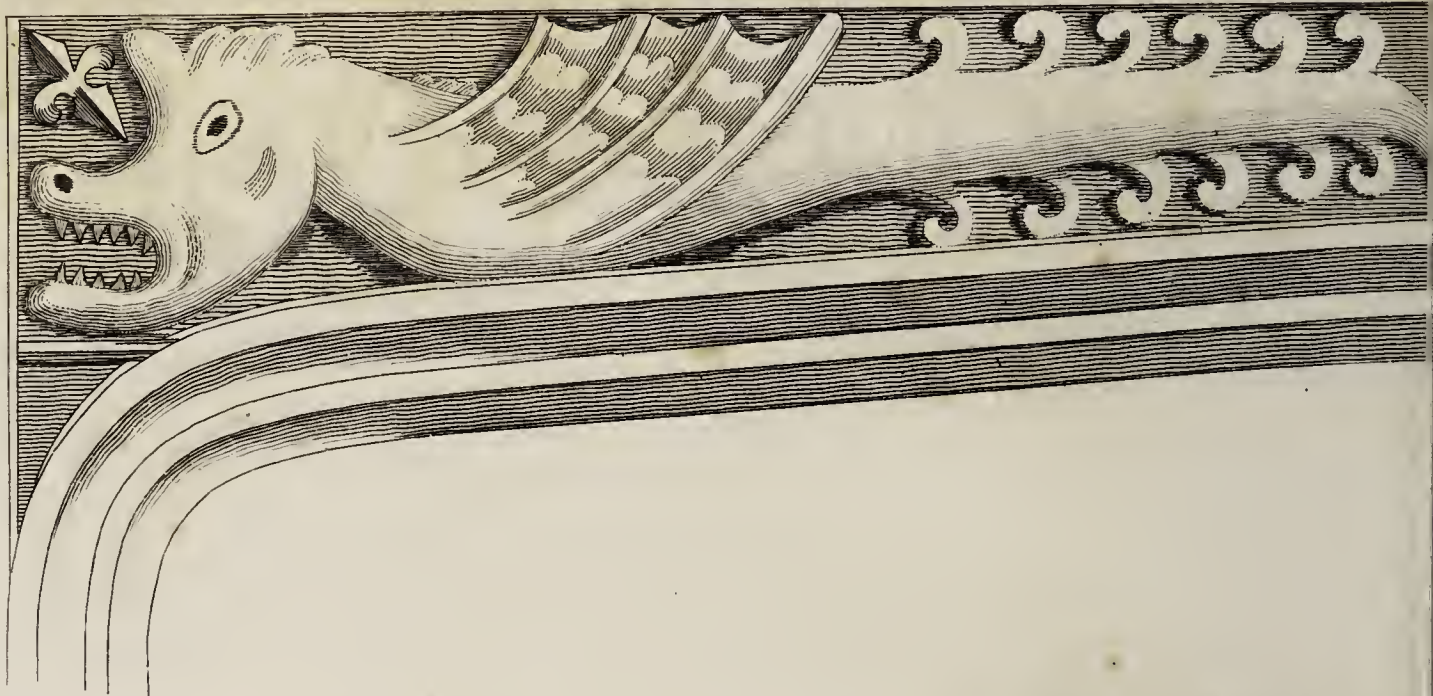
There have been, however, a few persons to whom the notion has appeared questionable; and the first and principal objector, as it is believed, was Dr. Ward, who laboured to shew, that the figure supposed by Dr. Wallis to be 1 was really 2, which would occasion an alteration to 1233. And since I expressed my doubts upon these two readings in my letter to Mr. Gough, he has transmitted to me some detached pages of Bibliotheca Literaria, N<sup>o</sup> X. in which periodical paper there is addressed to the editor by an anonymous correspondent the underwritten paragraph, p. 35.

“ The Colchester inscription, as you print, stands thus 1090; falsified with a vengeance, for I have seen it, and it was originally thus 1890; i. e. 1490; some fantastical knave, perhaps as late as the era of quakers, has diminished the 8 of his lower parts, and left it thus 0, for it plainly appears to any discerning eye that the first 0 of the pretended 1090 is but half as big as the other. Being sure in the Colchester inscription, I shall venture a fling at the chimney (at Helmdon), which though I never saw, I have vehemently suspected

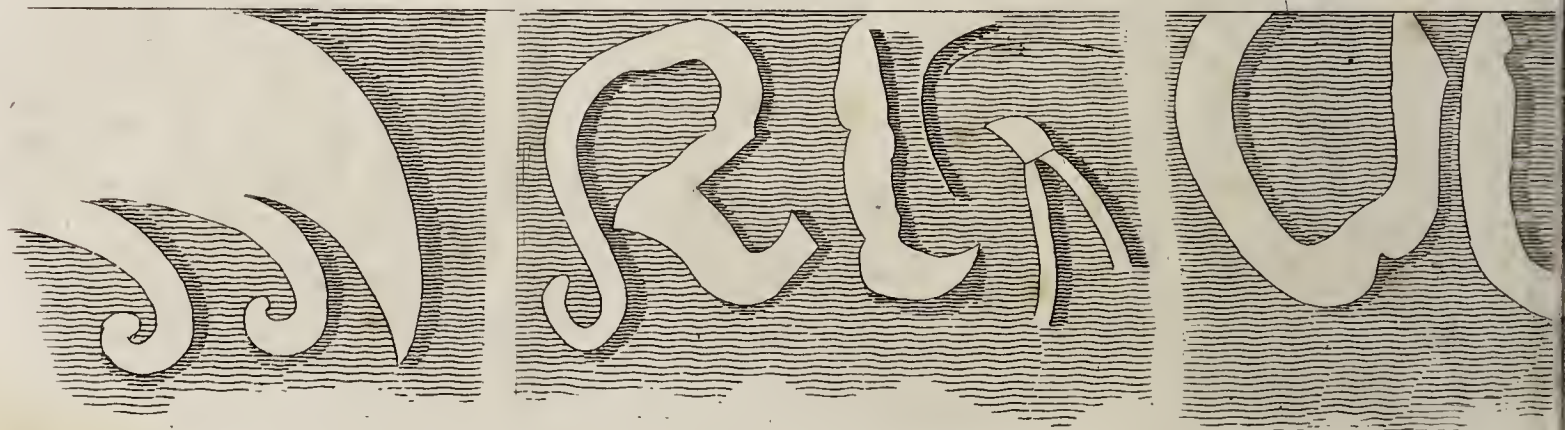




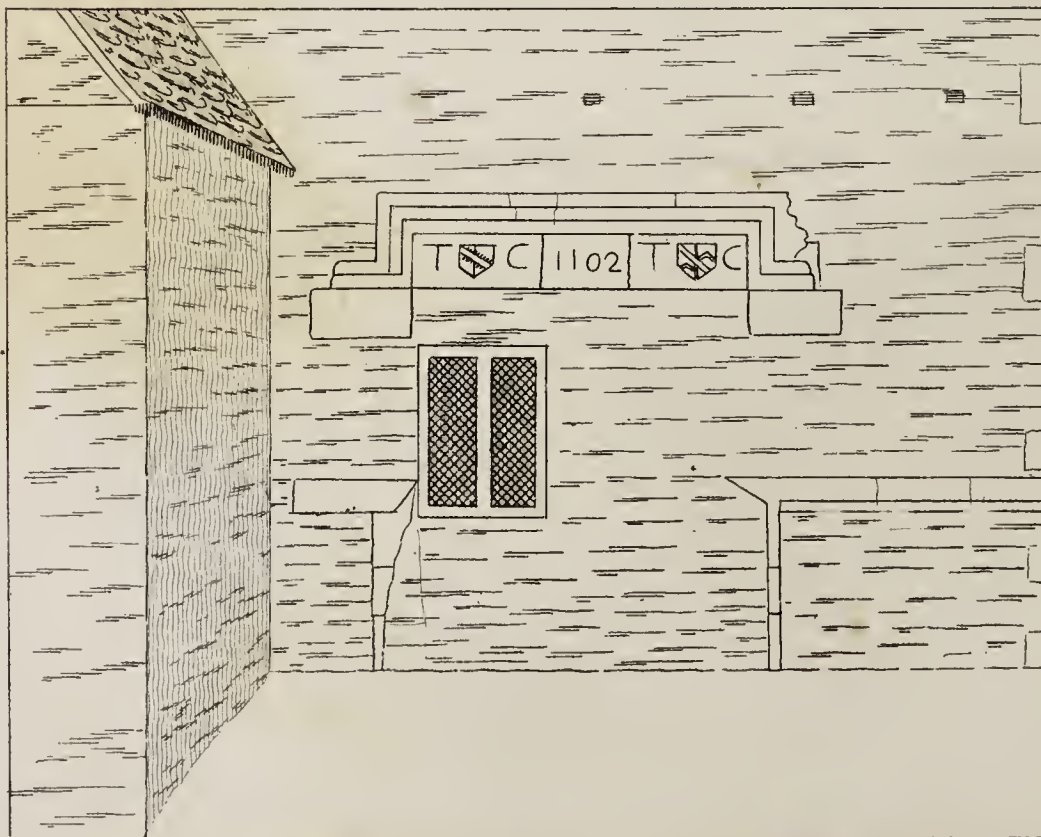
The Helmdon Mantle Tree as given by P.



Fac Simile of the Helmdon L

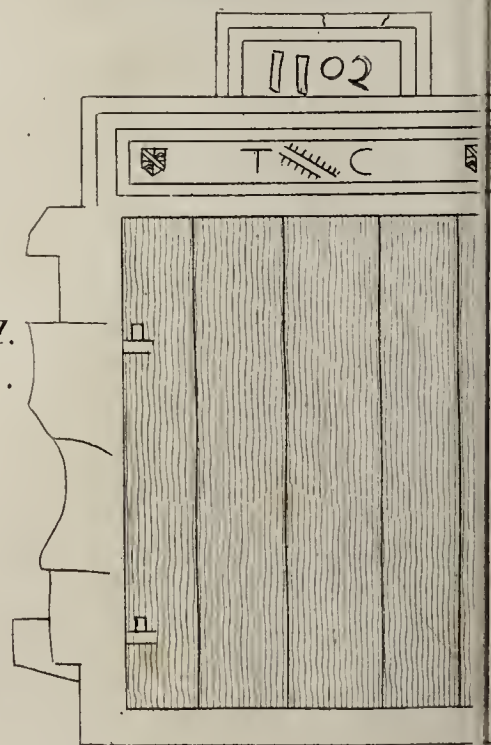


Nº2.  
Fig. 4.



Part of the Oast-bouse at Preston Hall. p108.

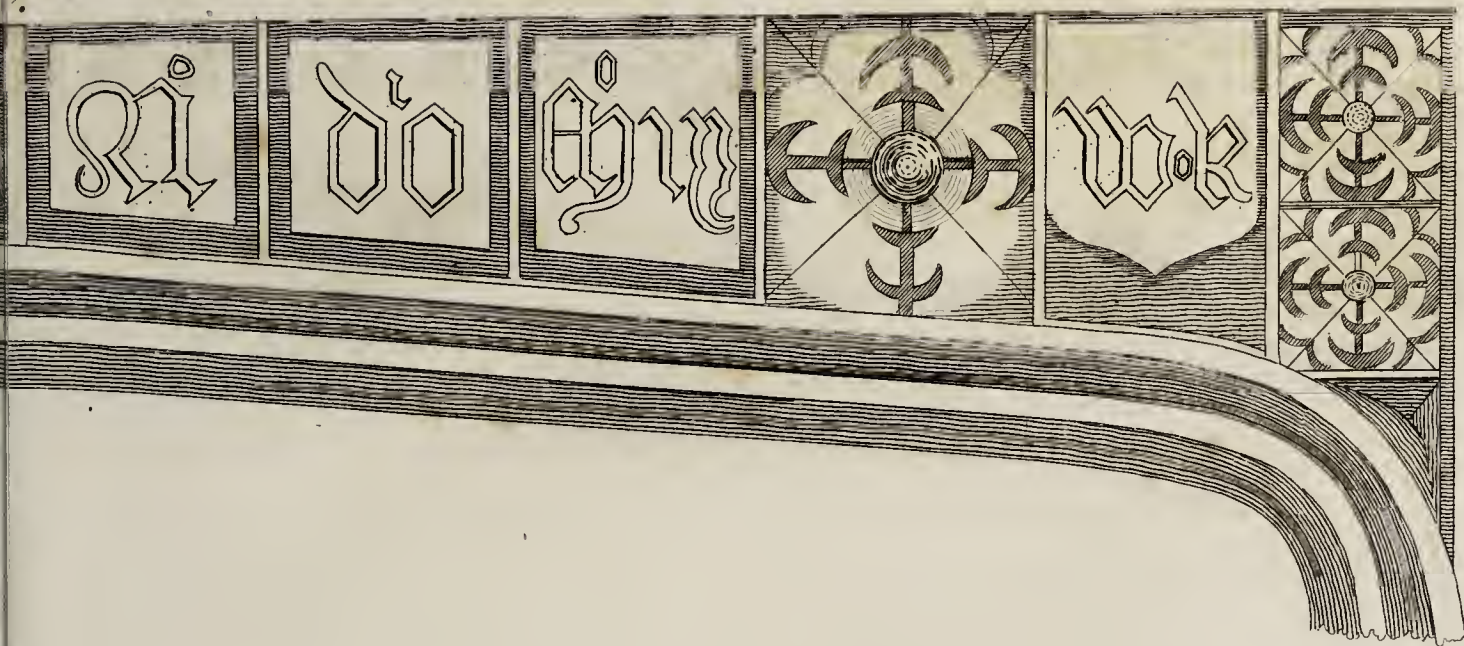
Nº1.  
Fig. 5.



At the end of the Barn at Pre  
p. 107.



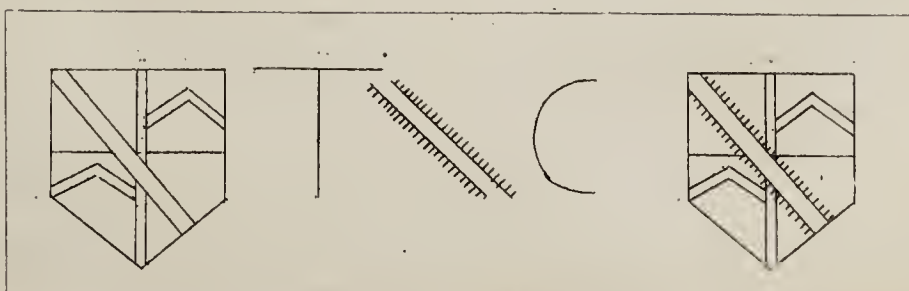
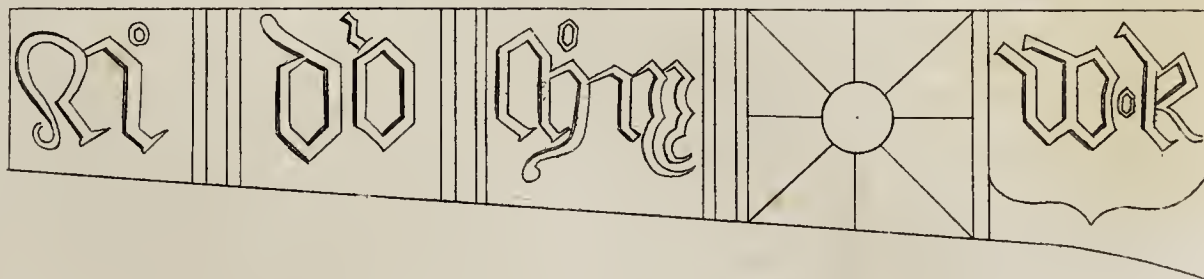
Professor Wallis in the Philos. Trans. XIII. 399.



Inscription as it appeared in 1796.



Inscription as explained by Professor Ward.



Hall.





pected ever since the time that I saw the Colchester one. You give it A° Doi. Mo. 133; I read M<sup>8</sup>L<sub>33</sub>; the same chisel work diminishing the 8, and cutting off the horns of the L, which was for C, so that the date stands 1433. Who don't believe, go look, and give their opinion." Advice laconic, which, as shall be presently shewn, has been duly followed by one incredulous gentleman.

On an attentive review of the plates, published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, I thought I saw sufficient grounds to believe that another hundred years ought to be added to the date of the inscription; if so, there is a choice of four centuries in decyphering this curious relic of former times, it being still a moot point whether this character, vexatiffimus, be it placed in the first or third panel, were designed by the carver to mark or 1, or 2, or 4, or 5, though I am inclined to hope it will not be much longer a dubious matter. In my paper which has had the honour to be submitted to the consideration of the Society, I intimated that Mr. North, in his letter to the earl of Morton, had ventured to predict, that if the original piece of wood at Helmdon Parsonage, which has been a very sphinx ever since it was propounded by Dr. Wallis, remains undefaced, it would be hereafter expounded in a manner different from that avowed by the learned professor; and I have now the satisfaction to acquaint the Society that it does remain undefaced.

For this article of intelligence we are obliged to our indefatigable Director, who being apprized that the Mantle-Tree was extant, took a journey into Northamptonshire for the purpose of surveying it. His report shall be delivered in his own words, accompanied with a fac simile of all the numeral characters, and of a part of the letters, the remainder not being within his view from a cause which he has assigned.

“In the modernization of a room (writes Mr. Gough) originally 20 feet by 12, now divided into a drawing-room and book-closet, the

the mantle-tree has given way to a modern chimney-piece; not by removal or abolition, but by inclosure in a shelf over the fireplace, removable at the pleasure of antiquaries. By this alteration the principal parts are preserved, though the new wainscot trenches a little on the tops of the characters, and entirely conceals the head of the dragon, and the roses finial. Nothing has been cut or broken off the figures, nor is any material part concealed, as the inclosed fac simile will convince you. But you are to observe that the figure under W. R. is meant for the dragon, who is placed at the head of the whole; though not being essential to the inscription, is here introduced merely to shew how much of him is concealed. And for the same reason the compartments of roses are omitted.

“ Mr. Russell, the present incumbent, whose name is not like the supposed maker of the Parsonage mantle, William but John, is well aware of the curiosity he possesses, and not deficient in attention to the few who think it an object of inquiry, nor insensible to the possibility of its being of less antiquity than is generally presumed, though he wishes to be convinced of the contrary proposition. He has a copy of Dr. Wallis's account of it in MS. The rectory house shews no particular mark of antiquity in the style or building, being a substantial structure of the stone of the country, like many of its neighbours, and not calculated to contain five or six children. How to make *Anno Domini* out of the two first compartments rather puzzles me. I submit the third to you.”

Suspicious as I was that the mantle-tree plate might have been embellished by the burin of the engraver, I must own I did not expect to find that the original was so rude a piece of sculpture; and it is in this respect, and in this only, that it can have had any pretension to the very high antiquity imputed to it. One must conclude it to have been the workmanship of a country joiner, not capable with chisel or with pen of forming a correct figure or letter; and  
obvious



obvious is the remark that Dr. Wallis must have read the inscription with an eye prepared to view in it Arabic numerals that should strengthen his favourite hypothesis. And afterwards, he must have trusted to memory for what he imagined he had seen; for had he compared the drawing with the original, he could not have failed observing that there was a striking dissimilitude between them.

After repeatedly inspecting the plates exhibited by Wallis and Ward, to me it appeared likely that they both looked for the character specifying the century in the wrong compartment, and Mr. Gough's *fac simile* convinces me that I was not mistaken. It is not, as conceived by Wallis, a single character in the first panel, there being clearly three distinct characters. All, I believe, will agree the first of them to be designed for M, though it is an uncouth letter. As to the second, I can only say that it is not more unlike 5 than the two figures in the third panel are unlike threes, and that the chisel seems to have been used in reverting instead of inverting the lower extremities of these figures. Somewhat apt am I to think that the second character might be meant for 4, and this under a notion the artist might have, that as L was a customary mark of fifty, by placing C a little way from the summit of it, it would be understood to signify 500; this C, however, adds weight to my conjecture, that as M, the first character is obviously the initial of mille, the thousandth year, so the second ought to be interpreted to denote the succeeding centuries.

Mr. Gough acknowledges himself to be puzzled how to make *Anno Domini* out of the fragments of the letters, though this would have been plain to him had not the wainscot concealed the tops of them, as also the *i* and *o* that are visible in the engravings. But I apprehend myself to be fully warranted in suggesting that had it not been for the intermediate *D<sup>o</sup>* and *An<sup>n</sup>*, it would not have been an easy task to have discovered from such pot-hooks and hangers

whether the other characters were designed for figures or letters; for numerals or for words; and that the date of the year cannot now be ascertained without the aid of the concomitant proofs which the other parts of the inscription supply.

It was with this view that I drew attention to the dragon and fleur de lys as suspicious marks of anachronism, certainly as being far less applicable to the reign of either Henry the 1st or 3rd than to the times of the eighth king Henry, to the year 1123, or 1233, than to 1533. The ornaments on the panels on each side of the compartment marked with the letters W. R. were from a want of information left unnoticed; but Mr. Gough has given a clue to a surmise by terming, what Dr. Wallis called flowers, roses; and it must be granted that they resemble roses as much as they do any other flower. But, comparatively speaking, how seldom do we find the rose used as an ornament upon buildings, or as a device upon armorial shields and banners, before the partisans of York and Lancaster took a white and a red rose for the badges of the contending houses; and after the marriage of Henry the VIIth to the princess Elizabeth, daughter of king Edward the IVth, the union rose was perpetually displayed. For edifices thus embellished subsequent to the commencement of that direful quarrel I will refer to the chapel of King's College in Cambridge, and to the chapel of Henry the VIIth at the east end of Westminster Abbey, where are to be seen roses innumerable between imperial crowns and portcullises; and for banners charged with roses red and white, and union, I will again mention the pictures at Windsor Castle, as described by sir Joseph Ayloffe and Mr. Topham; both of them illustrative of historical incidents in the year 1520; and in the latter are banners displaying the dragon and fleur de lys. Supposing therefore rector Rinalde to have planned the fashion of this mantle-piece in 1533, the roses may be deemed coetaneous embellishments. Perhaps by  
the



the great rose, if of one colour only, he might shew the royal house to which he was most inclined, as by the double compartment with roses he might denote their happy union under Henry the VIIIth. And William Ranalde I still hold to have been the incumbent in 1533, not finding any other rector to whom the letters W. R. can be applied as initials of the names.

From an extract of the register of John (Longland) bishop of Lincoln, communicated by Mr. Fardell to Mr. Gough, it appears that William Ranalde, master of arts, was in 1523 admitted at Buckden to the rectory of Helmdon, on the presentation of the master and brethren of the hospital of St. John near Northampton. But when he vacated the benefice, or whether by resignation, cession, or death, is not known. Mr. Gough writes "unfortunately the register of the parish does not begin till 1570, which is ten years after the time of the next successor noticed in Brydges' list of the incumbents, and Helmdon church having been completely new paved," Mr. Gough looked in vain for any sepulchral vestige of him. Should his will be discovered it may afford some material intelligence concerning him. At present there is a strong presumption of his having built the rectory-house; and after duly weighing the several circumstances alledged to establish the early use of Arabic numerals from the Helmdon date, I scruple not to plead that it ought to be struck out of the record. It being also undeniable that as the Arabic numerals on the outbuildings at Preston Hall could not have been carved before the conclusion of the sixteenth century, there must be in them a retrospective allusion to the date of the year, and consequently this is another case not in point. The unknown quaint writer in *Bibliotheca Literaria*, together with other critics less eccentric, have dismissed the Colchester date; and, if I am not mistaken, there is not a single inscription produced in the controversy that has not been disallowed as being indefensible

by very intelligent and unbiaſſed antiquaries. May I not then ſafely venture to again advance, that there has not been a well authenticated inſcription on wood, ſtone, or metal, yet diſcovered with Arabic numerals of an earlier period than 1454, and that denoting on a braſs plate in Ware church the death of Ellen Wood, and Mr. Gough tells me, that on another braſs plate in the ſame church over the remains of Mr. Bramber, who there founded a chauntry chapel, there is the date of the year 1484 in the ſame numerals.

The earlieſt uſe of theſe characters in ſpecifying the dates of deeds, and in numbering the leaves or pages of books in MS. is another proper object of inquiry. Againſt the repeated aſſertions of Dr. Harris, in his *History of Kent*, that they were thus originally employed by the compiler of *Textus Roffenſis*, I declined offering myſelf as an evidence, from not having ſeen that curious book upwards of twenty years, and from my not having ever conſulted it for the purpoſe of aſcertaining this point. I therefore chiefly relied on the opinion of Dr. Pegge, who had ſeen it, and who had procured a collated copy, only ſuggeſting the great improbability there was of biſhop Ernulf's having ſo frequently uſed theſe vulgar figures in marking the leaves without having ſuffered any of them to ſlip by accident into the text itſelf. But I ſhall now ſubjoin a clear and full report given by the archdeacon of Rocheſter, who, with Mr. Wrighte, our ſecretary, has, at my requeſt, lately examined the book. “ We are both (writes Dr. Law) decidedly of opinion, that the figures on the top of the pages are modern. I ſhould not have preſumed to adduce my teſtimony, if there could be a doubt of the recent inſertion of the above figures. Mr. Wrighte took a fac ſimile of the numeral characters at the beginning of the book, which is now conveyed to you. I am amazed that any one who ever inſpected the *Textus Roffenſis* could ſuppoſe the numerals



merals at the top of the pages coeval with the work itself. Inspection satisfied me, and the Arabic numerals not being once read in the book."

Mr. Henry Ellis, a very young student of St. John's College in Oxford, who has a strong and an useful propensity to antiquarian researches, has found in a leaf of a MS. of *Trivet Super Ovidi Metamorphos'*, in the library of that college, in an old hand, this entry.

"Libér quondã Magri. Thome Egburhab. M. Rob. Elyot A° Doi 18Λ1 (1471) dat' ad fit q. nõ vendaf'r post ejus mortem, &c. Orate qu. p. añã ejs." The remark of Mr. Gough, who communicated to me this extract, is, that it will at least make Arabic numerals in MS. keep pace with the specimens on brasses. And in the Introduction to Sepulchral Monuments, Vol. II. pp. cclix, cclxi, are the following pertinent observations on this subject.

"They appear in Bacon's Calender written about 1292 (Aftle. p. 188, 189). They were at first rarely used, except in mathematical, astronomical, and geometrical works. They were afterwards admitted in calendars and chronicles, and to date MSS. but not introduced into charters before the sixteenth century; the appearance of such before the fourteenth would invalidate their authenticity. In the fourteenth and fifteenth they may be sometimes found, though very rarely in the minutes of notaries. These exceptions, should they be discovered, would only help to confirm the rule that excludes them from appearing in instruments, previous to the sixteenth century. If there wanted any decisive proof of the improbability of the Arabic numerals having been common among us before the fifteenth century, one might deduce a weighty argument from their not appearing on sepulchral monuments till about the middle of the fifteenth century. Mr. North, in a sensible paper addressed by him to Mr. Folkes, and afterwards to his successor the earl of Morton, and communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, after I bought it  
among

among the papers of his friend and executor Dr. Lort, has proved they were not discovered by Gerbert, nor used in Spain, nor introduced before the time of bishop Grosseteste, who died in 1253, after John Basing, the archdeacon of Leicester brought them from Greece between 1235 and 1240 [c].”

The passage in Matt. Paris's history, cited by Mr. North, with his comment, ought to have a fuller inquiry, because, from a misinterpretation of it, he seems to have attributed to the archdeacon of Leicester the introduction of Arabic numerals into England.—It is as follows.

“ Hic magister Johannes figuras Græcorum numerales et earum notitiam et significationes in Angliam portavit, et familiaribus suis declaravit, per quas figuras etiam literæ representantur. De quibus figuris hoc maxime admirandum quod unicâ figurâ quilibet numerus representatur : quod non est in Latino vel in Algorismo [d].”

It being expressly mentioned that John de Basing imported into this country the Greek numerals, is it not an overstrained critical amendment to assert that the characters were not Greek, but Indian numerals, and new named by some uncertain continuator of the history, because they passed from India through Greece to England? Such a fundamental alteration will be deemed less justifiable, if it be considered, that the person in question was the most eminent Greek scholar of his age; that he travelled into Greece and abided at Athens, for the purpose of improving himself in the Greek language. That when he returned home he brought with him several Greek MSS; that he spirited youths to the study of the Greek language; and that for the use of the studious he translated into Latin an edition of a Greek grammar. Nor from the relation we have of him does it appear that he extended his travels beyond Athens, or that he was conversant in the eastern literature and

[c] *Archæologia*, V. X. p. 375.

[d] p. 721, Edit. Watts.



sciences. We learn, however, that he communicated to his intimate acquaintance the knowledge and the significations of these figures; and from the brief explanation given of them by the historian, who has likewise contrasted them with two other kinds of numerals, it may, I think, be demonstrated that he must have meant the Greek figures. This, observes the historian, was the thing most to be admired in them, that by a single figure any number is represented, a position that a passage in the Appendix to the Lexicon by Scapula, p. 232, has a tendency to illustrate.

“ De Græcorum notis Arithmæticis compendium ex Hadriani Amerotio Scriptis,

Græci utuntur notis numerorum literis alphabeticis; idque tribus modis. Primo singulis elementis secundum alphabeti seriem loci sub numerum significantibus. Nam quorum in ordine alphabeti locum quæque litera sortita est, ejusdem numerum representat, ut *a* primum, *c* secundum, et ita deinceps usque *W*. quod 24 symbolum habet.” But, continues the historian, this is not the case with the Latin numerals, *non est in Latino*; and the difference is obvious, there being no more than seven Latin letters used, viz. M. for a thousand; D. for five hundred; C for one hundred; L. for fifty; X. for ten; V. for five; and I. for units; so that there are seven of the first ten numbers not noted by a single figure, or letter. Matt. Paris concludes with remarking, *vel Algorismo*, or in Algorism; clearly contrasting the figures he had before described with a third class. To make what he calls the Greek letters the same with the characters in Algorismo is to suggest a distinction without any difference: and Algorismus is a word agreed by the glossarists to be of Arabic etymology, and to denote numbering; and therefore Arabic figures must be here meant, which primâ facie cover only nine figures; the 0 being a mere cypher, without any signification, except from its relative position to the other characters.

racters. Evident then is it that the Arabic numerals were known to the historian, though it may be reasonably inferred that he was not aware of their amazing capabilities. Had he had a notion of these extensive powers, he could never, as figures, have given a preference to the Greek letters. As changes of millions, ad infinitum, can be so easily rung, if I may be allowed the expression, on these ten arithmetical marks, he must have seen that they were the most admirable.

Mr. North urges the ignorance of the Arabians against the notion entertained of the characters called after their name having originated with them, and offers as a proof of it the remarkable piece of history cited in the second year of the emperor Justinian, their then wanting cyphers to denote one, two, and three, and eight and a half. If in the year 566 the knowledge of these people was really so limited, it will not follow that the Arabians, even in their own country, had not made the small improvement of completing the number of cyphers to ten in the four subsequent centuries. But in the territories which the Saracens conquered their progress in literature was astonishing, and to them principally were the Europeans indebted for the cultivation of arts and sciences.

In pp. 373, 374, of the same article, Mr. North mentions his having seen in Benet Coll. Library a MS. with Arabic numerals, that contained a table of eclipses from the year 1330 to 1348, and there being prefixed an account of numbers and the manner of expressing them. To this account I shall again refer, after examining another MS. communicated to me by Mr. Gough, in which there are tables and delineations of eclipses for fifty-six years of the fifteenth century in succession. This MS. comprises a very copious calendar of the twelve months, and several of the columns in every month have Arabic numerals only.

Eclipses, solar and lunar, are exhibited from 1406 to 1462, both  
years



years inclusive. The phases of the sun and moon are neatly illuminated with colours of gold and azure, the part eclipsed being azure; and above each phase the year in Arabic numerals is marked with a pen. Towards the end of the book there are five pages with memoranda astronomical and astrological concerning the several months. The signs of the zodiac predominant are noticed with their supposed influence upon persons and things, and under each month the days are specified when flebotomy was to be avoided. These precautions are thus summed up at the conclusion of the year, “Et in toto sunt 33 [e] dies in quibus cavendum est a flebot’ sicut p’notatū est de mense in mensem.” Then is given this other warning: “Isti sunt dies mali observandi ab incisione in anno, et qui homines vel pecora inciderint inde morientur [f].”

The

[e] There is an error in the computation: the total not being 33, but 34, as is plain from the underwritten items.

January	-	8	—	April	-	3	—	July	-	2	—	October	-	1
February	-	3	—	May	-	4	—	August	-	2	—	November	-	2
March	-	3	—	June	-	1	—	September	-	2	—	December	-	3

Why it was judged expedient to proscribe so many as eight days in January, and one only in June and October, no reason is assigned.

[f] The Mali Dies were

Oct. Kal. Novembr’	-	(Oct’r. 25. Crispin Martyr.)
Prima dies Augusti	-	(Lammas Day.)
Ult. Kal. Decembr’	-	(Nov’r. 14.)

Why the festival of Crispin and Lammas Day had the black mark set upon them shall be submitted to the surmise of others. But Ult. Kal. Nov. may have been deemed inauspicious, because sol fuit in sagittario, and, as observed under that month, “Sagittarius subito mittit sagittas.” In ‘the Myrroure, or Glasse of Helth,’ published A. 1543, (Typographical Antiq. Vol. I. p. 375,) it is noticed on the back of a leaf, “These bene the thre perylous Mondayes in the yeare to let bloud, to take any medicine, or purgation—The first Monday of August. The second is, the last Monday of April. And the thyrde is the last Monday of December.” But if it were an

The next paragraph, and the last in the page, is, “Nota quod quelibet figura algorismi in primo loco Sign<sup>t</sup> se ipsam, et in secundo loco decies se. T<sup>er</sup>tio loco centies se ipsam. Quarto loco millesies se. Quinto loco decies millesies se. Sexto loco centies millesies se. Septimo loco mille millesies se. Octavo loco decies mille millesies se. Nono loco mille mille millesies se. Et semp. incipiendum est computare a parte sinistra more judaico.” The succeeding page contains the Latin and Arabic numerals from 1 to 100, the vulgar figures of each number being placed directly beneath the Roman letters. And in the next, which is the last page of the book, there are in the first column many numbers from twenty to a million; thus specifying each number by Latin words, Roman numerals, and Arabic figures—Viginti—XX—20, &c. Mille Milia M<sup>c</sup> M<sup>a</sup>—1000000.—The other column contains Arabic numerals only from 1 to 100—and from 10000 to 100000.

A person more conversant than myself in ancient almanacks might precisely fix the year when this calendar was written, in which attempt I frankly own I have failed. But thinking it unlikely that the computist should have calculated and displayed eclipses that had passed, and observing that the eclipses of both sun and moon in 1406 were the first specified, my surmise is that the MS. is not of an earlier period than the fifth year of the fifteenth century. And it is proper to repeat that the year of each eclipse is marked with Arabic numerals, though such coetaneous annual

object to save the expence of embalming, of all the days and nights in the year the most lucky for coming into the world would have been the 5<sup>th</sup> of the kalends of April, and the ides of August, it being prognosticated in the calendar belonging to Mr. Gough, that the bodies of the persons born on those days or nights would never be liable to putrefaction.—“Julius—et sunt duo dies et noctes in anno, in quibus si quis natus fuerit, nunquam putrifiet usque in diem judicii.”



dates in these characters are so seldom to be met with in other books; nor, as I believe, has any charter been yet adduced thus dated in the preceding century [g].

With respect to the notes on the several months in the last leaves of the book, and the brief explanation of the figures in Algorifin, they appear to have been written some years after the calendar was compiled; and this opinion is adopted partly on the colour of the ink, which is very different from that of the calendar, and of almost all the subsequent pages, and partly on the form of

[g] In a letter from Mr. H. Ellis, of St. John's College, Oxford, dated Feb. 12, 1797, are these passages relative to Arabic numerals in a calendar, and in an ancient deed.

“ In MS. Rawlin, 1<sup>o</sup>. p. 811, are two ancient calendars on vellum, one in Roman the other in Arabic numerals, which are beautifully expressed in blue and red. At the bottom of one of the pages is in a fair hand,

“ Orate p. aiáb, Rĩci ffuller capellani et Rĩci Aleyn

“ Kervr qui dederunt hunc librum Ecc̃lie be Marie

“ Virginis de Bury S̃ci Edmundi Anno d̃m 18Λ2.”—(1472).

In the next place I shall mention ancient deeds, though you will not find that to be a prolific article. Yet in searching for materials for this letter, I carefully examined several large folios of ancient charters in Dr. Rawlinson's collection of MSS. at the Bodleian, and I am sorry to add that I was rewarded with one instance only, viz. MS. Rawlins, 1329, at the 11th folio of which is a small charter beginning

“ Sciant p'fent' & futuri quod ego Wills de tonges dedi conceffi et hac p'fenti carta mea confirmavi Willo fil' Willi le Frenche unā plac' terr' in villa de Melifon, &c. &c. Dat. apd Welynton die mercur' px. post f̃m S̃ci Augustini Anno 1717 ⊕ tertii a c̃questũ quarto.” If it be 4 H. 3 it should be 1120 instead of 1217.

The seal is gone.—The figures I conjecture are meant to express the year 1414, but ⊕ tertii, &c. is at present unintelligible to me.”

The following is communicated by Mr. Gough. “ In an almanack and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord MV & XLVIII, by M. Alphonfus Laet, brother of M. Jasper Laet, imprinted at London (the printers name torn off) all the numerals are Arabic, except the Golden Number, cycle of the sun, Indiçtio Romana, and calculation of a lunar eclipse. Perhaps this may be one of the first printed calendars.”

the letters, and on abbreviations. This ought however to be more closely examined, and if possible determined, in order to ascertain the knowledge, though not the use, of the Arabic numerals at that period. In the account prefixed to the calendar of the fourteenth century, referred to by Mr. North, there is added a paragraph still more explicit of the threefold division of numbers into digits, articles, and compound or mixed. Record's description cited in my letter to Mr. Gough has rendered into English a similar paragraph; and it seems to merit a research *which* may be the earliest MS. in Latin in which this elucidation of the Arabic numerals occurs, and whether a translation of it is to be found in any book previous to the introduction of printing.

But since it is clear that Arabic numerals were not unknown to Matt. Paris, how are we to account for Chaucer in his *Dreme* styling them *newe* figures? The probable solution of this difficulty is, that these figures ten had been then but lately used for the addition and subtraction of pounds, shillings, and pence; and the surmise acquires weight from the concomitant words of the poet, that "Argus, the noble countour, counted with them in his countour." And yet proof is wanting of this use of the vulgar figures from the time of Chaucer to an advanced period of the sixteenth century. In books (writes Mr. North) they were doubtless first used, and books have been examined to no purpose. Imagining that though the search had been fruitless in the libraries of several colleges in Oxford, some examples might be traced in the books of accompts upon the shelves and in the boxes of the Burfar's apartments, I hinted a wish to Mr. Ellis to pursue, when quite convenient, this *new* line of inquiry. He willingly acceded to it, and this is the result of his examination.

"In the enumeration of those colleges whose burfary accounts you wished me to search, Merton (the most ancient Society) appears



pears to have escaped your memory. The warden, Dr. Berdmore, upon my application, received me with great politeness; he told me that as for the burfary accounts, thofe of an early date were in Roman numerals, but that I fhould fee an old volume of the college register, at the top of every page of which the date of the year appears in Arabic numerals; the earlieft 1482.

“ The old burfary accounts of All Souls begin 1446, but the Roman numerals are ufed till the beginning of the prefent century, when figures are totally excluded, in the feperate charges of each article, and retained only in cafting up the fum at the bottom of the page.

“ The court-rolls preferved in the archives of the fame college are written with *Roman*, but many of them indorfed with the date of the year in *Arabic* numerals; the earlieft thus marked was

“ A<sup>o</sup> dni 88. ufque ad 89.” i. e. 1448 to 1449.

I queftion, however, whether they were fo marked before 1470; as till about that time the rolls appear to have been thus indorfed by the fame hand.

“ Profeffor Wallis, in his affertion that Arabic numerals appear to have been generally ufed for more than four centuries, does not appear to have judged from the burfary or other accounts of Exeter College, as is evident from the registers and books of accounts of that Society, which the rector freely permitted me to infpect. The pecuniary *charges* and *discharges* in the old burfar’s books are made in Roman numerals, which were not changed for the now vulgar figures till within the remembrance of the prefent warden about thirty years ago. In the rector’s accounts of the fame college, the *Roman* were altered for the *numerals now in ufe* on All Saints Day, Nov. 1, 1603; the vulgar figures feem to have been

used before in adding the sums total at the foot of each page, the first instance of which occurs in 1594.

“ In the register of the election of Fellows into this college the Arabic numerals were introduced much earlier, viz. in 1539.

“ Of the other college accounts I have only to report that none have occurred wherein the Arabic numerals are used till within the last fifty or seventy years, so that my inquiries in this line are now at an end.”

Mr. North was of opinion that “ it is not an usual thing, or in any degree probable, that men should lose the use of what rendered their calculations so short and facile, which with the numeral letters could not but be tedious and operose [h].” And yet we see during how long a continuance the numeral letters maintained their ground, notwithstanding the *delay*, the *trouble*, and the *mistakes*, that an adherence to them must have occasioned. In the History of Dean Colet, (Appendix, p. 334) Mr. Knight subjoins to a detail of the rents and profits of the estate belonging to the founder of St. Paul’s School this remark, which is equally applicable to many long accounts entered in Roman numerals: “ The casting up of sums is not always exact in originals, and for these errors it is not difficult to assign an adequate reason.”

From the uncertain era of the first casting up of pounds, shillings, and pence, in the now common figures to the close of the sixteenth century, it may be presumed that in so long an interval the citizens [i] and merchants of London must have acquired no inconsiderable knowledge of what John Dee terms *the might of the Arabic figures*, especially after the circulation from the press of

[b] Archaeolog. V. X. p. 363. + (h. 2.) See note after r at p. 3.

[i] All the “ Affizes of Bread” printed in the sixteenth century have the Roman numerals, and they were continued with the black letter through the seventeenth to 1714.” R. G.



fundry treatises on Arithmetick. But I suspect it will not be an easy thing to prove that they availed themselves of the use of them in their *Day Books* and *Ledgers*; for having proposed a search to Mr. Gough, the answer to his inquiries was, that most of the merchants and corporation books were consumed in the fire of London. However, in a miscellaneous parcel relating to paper marks and Arabic numerals in Dr. Lort's collection, there was found a sheet, containing several charges incident to a ship navigated from Africa to England in the year 1603, in which the pages referred to in another book are marked in the vulgar figures, as are also the sums of money disbursed in columns properly arranged, the items specifying the charges being written in the Latin numerals in the middle of the page. This corresponds in some degree with Record's explanation by the Roman letters of the value of the vulgar figures in his chapter of Numeration, and it might be owing to this mode of teaching that this needless twofold entry was so long practised.

Record, in his Preface, mentions treatises in English on Arithmetick that were written before his book appeared, and on examining Typographical Antiquities I discovered *three*, if not *four*, on this subject. Notes of, as it is believed, almost all the treatises published from the time of the introduction of printing by Caxton, to the year 1600, are conveyed with this paper. Persons who are luckily possessed of these treatises (some of which are scarce) may possibly be able to collect from them remarks historical and illustrative. With an exception to Record's book, I can form no other judgment than from the title pages, with Herbert's Summary of the contents of each treatise. The evidence thus afforded shall be stated, and the conclusions that may be deduced from it.

In the "Ymage or Mirrour of the Worlde," translated from the French by Caxton, and printed by him A. 1480, the tenth chapter

ter is intitled “ of *Arismetrike*, and whereof it procedeth.” Herbert, who supposes Laurence Andrew to have practised printing in 1527, notices a book from his press, in which “ *Arfmetryke* wyth the maner of accountes and rekenynges by Cyfres” is mentioned; and Lewis, in *Life of Caxton*, p. 26, calls this another edition of the book printed by Caxton!

A. 1537. John Hertforde printed in the Abbey of St. Alban’s “ an Introduction for to lerne to reken with the pen, and with the counters after the true cast of Arismetyke, or *Awgrym*, in hole numbers, and also in broken;” and at the conclusion it is suggested [k], “ Thus endeth the Scyence of *Awgrym*, the wich is newly corrected out of dyvers bokes, because that the people may come to the more understandyng and knowlege of the sayde arte or scyence of *Awgrym*.”

These terms are thus explained by Record, after a hint given by the master to the scholar: “ What great rebuke it were to have studied a science, and yet cannot tell how it is named.” “ Both names, *Arfemetrick* and *Augrime*, are corruptly written. *Arfmetrick* for *Arithmeticke*, as the Greeks call it, and *Augrime* for *Algorisme*, as the Arabians found it, which doth betoken the science of Numbering [l].”

A. 1543. Hugh Oldcattle, scholemaster in St. Ollave’s parish in Mark Lane, set forth the “ Treatise according to which he there taught *Arithmetike*.” This was reprinted by John Windet in 1588, under the title of “ A Briefe Instruction to keepe Bookes of Accomptes.” And I imagine John Mellis to have been the “ reneuer and reviver of this auncient copie,” it being advertised that

[k] The Introduction, &c. printed A. 1595, by Ja. Roberts, seems to have been an improved edition of this Treatise.

[l] Record’s *Arithmetick*; edit. 1658, p. 7.



he added "A Short and Plain Treatise of Arithmetike comprised in a briefer method than hetherto had bin published." Another edition of this brieft Introduction with additions, and a variation in the title page, was published in 1588.

A. 1549. Robert Recorde, Doctor of Physick, published "The Grounde of Artes, teaching the Woorke and Practice of Arithmetike, booth in whole numbers and fractions, after a more easyer and exacter sort, than any lyke had hitherto been set forth." The first Preface was addressed to the most Myghty Prince Edward, the Sixte King of England, &c. And a second Preface to the loving Readers. For though, as he writes, "Unto the King his Majesty privately I doe it dedicate, yet I doubt not (such is his clemency) but that he can be content, yea, and much desirous, that *all* his loving subjects should take the use of it, and employ the same to their most profit." In 1558, there seems to me to have been a second edition of this treatise, and the second preface addressed, not to readers in general, but to Mayster Rycherd Whalley, Esq. But there cannot be a doubt of there being an edition in 1561, suggested to be now of late *overseen* and *augmented* with new and necessarie additions. J. D. is a signature used in this title page, probably the initials of John Dee [*m*].

1557.

[*m*] Mr. Herbert, in his Typographical Antiquities, p. 600, in the margin, assigns A. 1549 for the date of the edition of Record's Ground of Artes, but concludes the line with A. 1561, from inadvertency as I apprehend.

There must have been an edition before 1551, as the book was dedicated to King Edward VI, who died in that year; and as Mr. Herbert notices an edition in 1558, if there were one in 1561, it must have been a third edition.

Of the edition in 1558 he remarks, that this seems to be the first edition teaching Fractions; a surmise that does not appear to be well founded, since his book previously published would on such a supposition have been less useful than the treatise written by Hugh Oldcastle, and published in 1543, or than that printed by Hertford at St.

1557. John Kingstone printed "The Whetstone of Witte, or a second part of Arithmetike compiled by Recorde," and which he dedicated to the Governors, Consulles, and the reste of the companie of Venturers into Muscovia.

A. 1562, was first published, for there have been several editions of the treatise, "The Well Sprynge of Sciences, which teacheth the perfect Woorke and Practise of Arithmetike, &c. by Humfrey Baker, citizyn of London," and it was dedicated by him to Maister John Fitzwilliam, Governour of the most famous Societie of Marchchauntes Adventurers into Flaunders, &c. A. 1576-7, a licence was granted to William Norton and John Harrison to print "Dionis Gray, of London, Goldsmith, his Storehouse of Brevitie in Workes of Arithmetike, a work of rare pleasant and commodious effecte;" and in 1586 there was another edition amended by the author.

A. 1591. Thomas Nelson had a licence to print "The Pathwaie to Knowledge, teaching the perfect Worke and Practise of Arithmetick in whole numbers and fractions, both by pen and counters, &c. set forth by Nicholaus Peter de Daventer." And

A. 1592. Richard Field printed "Thomas Masterton his first book of Arithmeticke, after a more perfect, brief, well ordered way,

Alban's in 1546, and reprinted by him in London; for these treatises "taught to reckon with hole numbers or in broken." And under such a defect, Record could not have flattered himself "that some would like his booke above any other English Arithmetick hitherto published;" as he suggests in the preface to the reader. Besides he styles his "Whetstone of Witte," which was a subsequent treatise, "the second part of Arithmetick, containing the extraction of Rootes."

To the treatise printed by Hertford was prefixed "A Cut of a Man placing counters on a table." To the edition of Record's Arithmetick, A. 1558, there was a cut of the Doctor sitting at a table teaching Arithmetick to two men sitting at the same table, and a third looking on.

than



than any other heretofore published: Ve'rie necessarie for all men. Nothing *without* labour. All things *with* reason."

Notwithstanding the circulation in print of the treatises above mentioned, which were to teach to reckon in a speedier and more complete method than had been hitherto pursued, is there not scope for a conjecture whether the proficientes were as numerous as might reasonably have been expected under these advantages! The entries in the churchwardens books of accounts being made as far as yet has been traced in the Latin numerals, and indeed the very few specimens now remaining of practical Arithmetick in the vulgar figures, afford a presumptive proof in support of the surmise. And it is further observable, that so late as the year 1595, persons were taught to reckon with counters, most of them unquestionably because they were illiterate; and probably it might be found on examination, that there were then very few schools established, or encouraged by voluntary contributions, for instructing the children of the lower class of people in reading, writing, and cyphering [n].

Of

[n] By a statute of the Grammar School founded at Sandwich, A. 1580, by sir Robert Manwood, "Every scholler hereafter to be admitted to be hable before his admiffion to write competentlie and to read perfectlie both English and Lattyne. Such as are already placed in the schole to attaine writing competentlie within one quarter of a yere next comminge, or else to attain the same." (Collections for History of Sandwich, by William Boys, Esq. p. 226.) But in a note the founder grants a further latitude and indulgence. "I do ordain when sufficient place in the school-house is more than to suffice the Grammar scholars, than one convenient person that can write well shall in the said school-house teach scholars to read and write; to be appointed by the mayor and jurates, and have a stipend yearlie of 4lb. And that during such teaching no other person shall be permitted within the town to teach writing of English, unless licenced by the mayor and jurates." May not this be an unique instance of a prohibition and monopoly adapted to prevent the progress of youth in learning their native language? The founder must have meant by writing competentlie to write legibly, which can hardly be said of himself, judging from the fac simile epistle published by

Of Grammar schools there was not a scarcity, "there having been more erected and endowed within thirty years before the Reformation, than there had been in thirty years preceding. So that, as Dr. Knight suggested, there wanted rather a regulation than an increase of *them* [o]." But not in any Grammar school, as I suspect, was the science of Arithmetick a branch of the original institution. A knowledge of the primary rules of it was not a previous qualification for admission into them. What was required of a scholar expectant was "that he should be able to rede and write sufficiently his own lessons in Latyn and Englyshe [p]." Not any usher or assistant was provided to teach this "Ground of Arts," or to supply to the scholar a cup out of this "Well Spring of Sciences:" nor was an hour in a week appropriated for this essential branch of erudition. This was an oversight in the establishment of schools which at that time, and long afterwards, had its inconveniences. And, whatever may be the present usage, it is within recollection that fifty years ago there were sent from capital schools to the university youths of good abilities, and not by any means wanting in grammar and classical learning, yet so little versed in the vulgar figures as to be obliged to have recourse to the master of a day-school in the town for instruction in the four fundamental rules of Arithmetick.

Record, as an academic, must have discovered this omission in the institution of the Grammar schools in his days; and, as I apprehend, it was one design of his treatise to endeavour to obviate

Mr. Boys, Cyphering was not an art deemed a necessary acquisition by sir Robert, though to the young inhabitants of a Cinque Port, and of the parishes contiguous, one should have imagined that some of the time appropriated for their instruction might have been as usefully employed in figures as "in varying of Latin, practising exercises of Anthonii Progymnasmata, or in pearsing some of the words of a lesson." p. 230, 231.

[o] The Life of Dr. John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, p. 100. [p] Ibid, p. 124.



the bad effects that had ensued from it. He *impresses* on the mind of his nominal scholar that “as without the art of numbering a man can do almost nothing, so with the help he may attain to *all* things.” He expatiates “how much it will profit towards the acquisition of all the sciences,” and urges “how necessary it is in every profession and every employment.” He particularises “music, physic, lawes, *Grammar*, philosophy, divinitie, the armie,” and sets forth “in how many ways it is conducible for all private weales, for lords and all possessors, for merchants and all other occupiers, and generally for all estates of men.” After shewing its importance in *Grammar*, and in philosophy, he thus quotes the authorities of Aristotle and Plato: “It is the saying of Aristotle, that hee that is ignorant of Arithmeticke, is meet for no science. And Plato, his master, wrote a little sentence over his *school-house* door, Let none enter in hither (quoth he) that is ignorant of Geometry. Seeing hee would have all his scholars expert in Geometry, much rather hee would have the same in Arithmeticke, without which Geometry cannot stand [q].”

When William of Wykeham formed his two noble seminaries on a truly original plan, which was, as it is observed by his most respectable biographer [r], to train the members of them from the lowest class of Grammar learning to the highest degree of the several faculties, it was not to be expected that he should make Arithmetick a primary article. Arithmetick was then ranged in one of the higher classes of science, and with Latin numerals was hardly attainable by a stripling at a Grammar school. The working of a sum in the Rule of Three, if that were one of the calculating suppositions then proposed, would have long puzzled the

[q] Record's Arithmetick, p. 4, 5. The scholar replies at p. 6, “This art is so necessary for man, that (as I thinke now) so much as a man lacketh of it, so much he lacketh of his sense and wit.”

[r] The Life of William of Wykeham, by Robert Lowth, D. D. p. 177:

brightest

brightest Wykehamist in the upper form. Of this circumstance the founder must have been apprized, as it may be fairly presumed that he was an expert Geometrician; and whilst improving himself in the art of Numbering, he might repeatedly have found cause to make the same complaint which the ingenious Aldhelm did to Hedda, a prelate of his see, that the long and intricate calculations bore so grievously upon him as to make him almost desperate, and that the labour he had bestowed on the other branches of learning he had attained was trifling in comparison [s]. This will sufficiently account for Wykeham's not ingrafting Arithmetick on Grammar in his school at Winchester; and as Henry VI. was, at Eton and Cambridge, a strict copier of Wykeham's plan, and as Arithmetick was then a science of immense labour from the limited use of the Arabic numerals, it was an elementary mode of instruction that would have been then premature.

But in the sixteenth century the case was materially altered. Of the power and the convenience of Arabic numerals there could not have been then a doubt, though they were but little used in consequence of a pertinacious adherence to an old habit. Early in that century, if not in the fifteenth, a book in English was certainly published to teach the manner of accounting by cyphers; and in 1543 there was a schoolmaster in London who taught to keep accounts after a book of his own compiling. The "Pathwaie" to the art of numbering being thus rendered smooth and facile, it must appear strange that in two schools instituted for the

[s] Anglia Sacra, V. XI. p. 7, De vita Aldhelmi.

"De ratione vero calculationis quid commemorandum; cum tantæ supputationis imminens desperatio colla mentis oppresserit; ut omnem præteritum lectionis laborem parvi penderem, cujus me pridem secreta cubicula nosse credideram; et ut sententia beati Hieronymi, dum se occasio obtulit, utar, *Qui mihi prius videbar Sciolus, rursus cæpi esse discipulus*; sic quod tandem superna gratia fretus, difficilima rerum argumenta et calculi suppositiones, quas partes numeri appellant, lectionis instantia reperi."



improvement of the sons of citizens of a trading metropolis, both entrusted to the charge and government of societies of merchants, and one of them founded by a mercantile company, not any care was taken that the boys should be put in the road to so necessary an acquisition; and, as I have understood, no provision for arithmetical knowledge was made in the original establishments of St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' Schools.

In endeavouring to supply so great an omission Record was entitled to a considerable degree of merit; for though, as he confessed, "his Ground of Artes might be of small aid to the learned sort; it might be to the simple and the ignorant which needeth most, a good furtherance and mean to knowledge." Nor ought his coadjutor, John Dee, to be passed by without his share of credit. To an improved edition of Dr. Record's book the reputed conjurer prefixed these stanzas:

"That which my friend hath well begun,  
For very love to common weal,  
Need not all whole to be new done.  
But now increase I doe appeal.

"Something herein I once redrest,  
And now again for thy behoof,  
Of zeal I doe, and at request,  
Both mend and adde, fit for all proof.

"Of numbers use; the endlesse might,  
No wit nor language can expresse:  
Apply and try both day and night,  
And then this truth thou wilt confesse."

And to the title page of a former edition, as it is believed, was  
subjoined

subjoined the following tetraſtic; which allowing it not to ſtrike out a ſpark of good poetry, emits a ray of ſome good ſenſe.

“ All youth and elde that reaſon’s lore  
 Within your breafteſ will plant to trade;  
 Of numbers might the endleſ ſtore  
 Fyrſt underſtand, then further wade.”

Conformable to this rule of inſtruction was the opinion of Dr. Johnſon, as communicated by Mr. Boſwell [t]. He allowed very great influence to education. “ I do not deny, ſir, but there is ſome original difference in minds; but it is nothing in compariſon of what is formed by education. We may inſtance the ſcience of *Numbers*, which all minds are equally capable of attaining; yet we find a prodigious difference in the powers of different men, in that reſpect, after they are grown up, becauſe their minds have been more or leſs exerciſed in it.”

As this diſquiſition was opened, ſo it ſhall be cloſed, with the obſervation of the ſame learned and judicious writer, truſting that the intervening remarks may afford a little amuſement to the members of a Society, whoſe province it is to take care that not any lamp of ſcience ſhall ever be extinguiſhed [u], and to whom, with becoming deference, theſe ſcintillations of Arithmetick are addreſſed, by their faithful and humble ſervant,

*Wilmington,*  
*March 25, 1797.*

SAM. DENNE.

[t] Life of Johnſon, V. II. p. 321.

[u] *Non Extinguitur.* Motto to the ſeal of the Society.



XII. *Copies of Two Manuscripts on the most proper Method of Defence against Invasion, by Mr. Waad. Communicated by the Rev. Samuel Ayscough, F. A. S. in a Letter to the Rev. John Brand, Secretary.*

Read March 2, 1797.

SIR,

**I**N my researches amongst the MSS. in the British Museum I met with the two following, which under the present circumstances I am induced to think will be acceptable communications to our Society, and for that purpose have transcribed them. They are both written by Mr. William Waad, of whom Dr. Birch, in his *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, (Vol. I. p. 45,) gives the following account. “ Mr. William Waad was son of Armigel Waad, Esq. a gentleman born in Yorkshire, and educated at St. Magdalen College in Oxford, who was clerk of the council to king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and employed in several campaigns abroad, and died at Belfie or Belfise House, in the parish of Hampstead, near London, on the 20th of June 1568. His son William succeeded him in the place of Clerk of the Council, and was afterwards knighted by king James I. at Greenwich, May 20, 1603, and made Lieutenant of the Tower. The occasion of his journey into Spain in the beginning of the year 1583-4, was upon the discovery of the Spanish ambassador Mendoza being concerned in the plot of Francis Throgmorton, and other English catholics, in favour of the queen of Scots, and being ordered to depart England imme-

diately, of which he loudly complained, as a violation of the law of nations. Mr. Waad was therefore dispatched to the king of Spain, to inform him of her majesty's reasons for sending away his ambassador, and with a letter from her to that king, dated at Westminster the 14th of January. But Philip II. would not give audience to Mr. Waad, who therefore refused on his part to communicate his business to that king's ministers." Mr. Waad was also employed on various other embassies, to Denmark, Germany, to France in 1586, Portugal during the time of the Interregnum, and there are copies of several of his letters referred to in my Catalogue of MSS. in the British Museum, in the Harleian collection of MSS. and also Sloan MS. 2442.

I have taken notes of various other MSS. on the subject of Invasion in the Museum, as "Abstracts from Records by sir Robert Cotton," and other "by Lord Gray and sir John Norris," "John Neper, lord of Marcheston, Lord Willoughby, Lord Viscount Wimbleton," and others. But the only one which appears to me worthy the attention of the Society is rather long, as it contains thirty-two close written folio pages. The author I have not been able to discover. It is entitled "A Military Discourse, whether it be better to give an Invador present Battell, or to temporize and defer the same," written about the latter end of Elizabeth or James I. If in the opinion of the gentlemen of the Society it is worthy of their attention, I will with the greatest pleasure communicate it.

I am, Sir,

with great respect,

Your most humble servant,

*British Museum,*  
February 25, 1797.

SAM. AYSCOUGH.

*To the Rev. Mr. Brand,*  
*Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, London.*

*Birch*



*Birch MS. 4109. f. 343.*

Mr. Waad's Remonstrative Remonstrances when the Alarms of the Spaniards approached.

To set as many ships to the seas as may be, although they come not time enough to encounter with the enemy, as they may impeach his landing, yet they will serve to keep him in awe and suspense, not to adventure to land, when he shall see our ships at the seas ready to set upon them upon any advantage.

And if most part of his shipping be easterlings, low country, and such as are taken up by constraint to serve him, he will put no special trust in them to fight by sea; and if he happen to land his men on shore, if they see our forces on the seas on their back, it is likely these ships will, if they can, seek the best means to save themselves. And upon mistrust the enemy hath of them, and for the better strengthening of them, he shall leave part of his soldiers in the ships, his strength will be the less to make any great attempt on land; and he may be so waited on with our ships, as after he hath once landed he never will adventure it again. And if he bend his forces towards Calais, there may notable advantage be had against their ships after they have landed their men, considering there is no harbour for them in all those parts.

And if the enemy have any meaning to land at Calais, and before he land there, he attempt any thing on our coast, there will be time enough in all that space to have sufficient forces by sea to encounter with him.

The order already taken is very sufficient for the compassing his descent both in the maritime counties, and counties adjoining the forts convenient.

Martial men of good experience to be sent down to all the maritime counties, both to take the musters and train the men, and to remain here upon occasion to direct the foldiers under the lieutenants.

All horses especially to be had in a readines.

Good store of pioneers, spades, shovels, mattocks, and like instruments to be provided.

Forces to be put in a readines for an army, if need shall require, under a general appointed, that may be assembled at such place as may serve to second the forces that are attempted to impeach the landing of the enemy in all the west parts, who may be directed to give all annoyance, alarms, and continual impeachment to the enemy, and fight with him upon advantage.

Another to be in readines out of the inland counties to come to London, if that shall be thought necessary, that may serve both for defence of her majesty's person, and of those maritime counties not far distant.

If the enemy should make towards Calais, then the Thames above Gravesend to be regarded, and some good shipping placed there, or other device.

A place where the river Lee doth enter into the Thames hath been thought of as most convenient to fortify; for if the enemy land on Essex side, he must need pass these rivers, which must be guarded also in all places of descent.

The master of the ordnance to give a note of the munition in store, and what is fit to be presently provided.

Victuals.

A commission of the victuals to be appointed.

Fire works to be provided in the several ports, and to go with the ships, that shall be set forth.

Pinnaces to discover.

Beacons



Beacons watched.

Recufants restrained.

Arms and horses to be fequeftered out of their custody.

Powder to be provided both for the ftore of the counties and the towns corporate.

The ports to be better looked into for paffengers by fpecial letters to fome fpecial gentlemen adjoining to the ports, to join with the officers of the ports.

The minifters of the French and Dutch churches to be written unto, to know what ftangers be within and about London that be not of their churches, or repair to their parifh churches.

What direction is fit to be given to the ports for prefervation of the fhipping in the feveral harbours.

There is order already taken for men to repair to the Ifle of Wight, and likewise an increafe of the ward at Plymouth.

The like order to be taken for the fupplies that are to repair to Portfmouth.

In anno 88 there was fpecial order given for the defence of the Ifle of Thanet.

Sheernefs efpecially to be confidered of.

What places on the fea coaft are fit to be intrenched.

What places in the maritime counties are moft fubject to danger.

*Birch MS. 4122, f. 79.*

A Paper of Mr. Waad concerning the defence of the Kingdom againft Invaſions.

Confidering Right Hon. the dangerous eftate wherein we are fallen through theſe long times of peace and reſt, whereby we are generally grown to the untowardlinefs in martial actions, as, in my  
fimple

simple judgment, if we should encounter and join with the enemy after the old manner and custom in running confusedly to the sea side, there can be no good success expected thereof, but rather on the contrary great danger, hurt and slaughter, if by your wisdoms, to whom belongeth the redress, it may not be thorough seen into and provided. It may be we presume overmuch of the antient courage and noble attempts of our ancestors, not weighing the difference of time drawing more to perfection and ripeness of late, whereof our enemies have taken advantage, and increase of knowledge by their late troubles, and we are declined and gone backwards for want of use and practice. For as weapons, armour, and munition, are but dead things without men's bodies to use them, and they both of little value without skilful leaders to exercise and train them. And as there is nothing but emulation and confusion amongst the best leaders and captains of experience, without some noble honourable minded personage to direct and judge of every man's opinion; so all these be both dangerous and imperfect without a good plot and sure foundation laid to work upon.

Myself being one of the meanest of ability and of skill, have presumed yet to offer this my simple opinion and judgment, as a testimony and witness of the zeal and affection that I bear as well to the preservation of her majesty's most royal person, as to the benefit and safety of this my natural country, hoping your honour will accordingly accept the same, and pardon what is amiss therein.

Certain Orders meet to be observed upon any foreign Invasion for those Shires that lye upon the Sea Coasts.

That in every shire thereof be appointed a nobleman to take the chief charge for the ordering and governing of the same; and he



to appoint a chief leader of the horsemen, and another of the footmen, and under them captains may be of the better sort inhabiting the country, if their skill and courage be answerable for it. The chief leaders both of horsemen and of footmen may be strangers, for that they must be men of that experience, discretion, temperance, and of that judgment, as well in ordering and disposing of great numbers, as also in taking advantages of grounds, of times, of occasions, and of matters offered. And it were to be wished, that they were such in all points, as the whole realm might be able to furnish every frontier shire but with two of that conduct and valour.

That there might be also meeting and drawing together of some convenient numbers both of horsemen and footmen to be trained and exercised in all manner of sorts and forms, as well frivolous as necessary, to the intent they seeing the difference between good and frivolous orders, they may know the better how to give and receive a charge. For I think, if you shall but ask the opinion of three captains how horsemen ought to charge, and how they should receive a charge, and so likewise of footmen of their retreats, the three captains will be therein of two opinions at the least. And yet the first thing we offer unto the enemy is rashly to join battle without any foresight of the inconvenience thereof, a thing to be generally received and conceived of all our nation for the best way, and who should seem to impugn the same is in danger to be made ridiculous, and his reason to be holden (as it were) heresy, and not fit to be heard or read. And yet how rude, ignorant, and unthankwardly, we should and would present ourselves thereunto, make but some models of convenient numbers assembled, and you shall see the same.

In private quarrels for trifling causes every man desireth to be exercised and skilful in that weapon wherewith he would encounter his enemy. But in this general conflict, wherein we fight for the  
safety

safety of our country, for our religion, for our goods, wives and children, we would hazard all in that order and form wherein we are altogether ignorant and unexperienced.

But because I have found it by experience and reason a very desperate and dangerous kind of tryal, I would not wish any prince to adventure his kingdom that way, unless he be weary of the fame, being the only thing for an invador to seek, and for a defender to shun. For the one doth hazard but his people, and hath a lot to win a kingdom; the other in losing of the battle hath frequently lost his crown.

A battle is the last refuge, and not to be yielded unto by the defendant until such time as he and his people be made desperate, or until opportunity shall offer unto him great advantage. For which kind of tryal seldom or never shall you see the invador to quail, not though his numbers have been much less than the other.

There is a kind of heat and fury in the encounter and joining of battle, the which side can longest retain, on that part goeth the victory. Contrarywise, which side conceiveth the first fear, whether it be upon just cause or not, namely, for lack of good training, that side goeth to wreck, yea, and oftentimes falleth so out before the pikes be couched.

Thus much to the uncertainty of battle, wherein albeit I would wish our nation to be well exercised and trained, being a thing of great moment, yet to be used in our own country as the sheet-anchor and last refuge of all.

A caveat for the avoiding of that dangerous course in running to the sea side at the firing of the beacon.

That there be in every shire places appointed whereunto the country may resort upon the firing of the beacons, which places of assembly would not be lesser distant than five or six miles from the  
sea



sea side at the least for the footmen to gather themselves together, to the intent you may the better sort your men, put them in a readiness, and consult what is meetest to be done, which you shall hardly be able to do, if your place of assembly be within view or near unto the enemy, who will by all means seek to attempt you in your disorderly assemblies. Moreover, if fear once take your men, or that they be amazed if you had as skilful leaders as the earth doth bear, they should not be able to dispose or reduce them into such order and form, as they would; neither will the enemy give you time to deliberate what is best to be done, but that you must either disorderly fight, or more disorderly run away. And above all things I especially advise to shun that old and barbarous custom of running confusedly to the sea side, thinking thereby to prevent the landing of the enemy, or at least to annoy them greatly, which you will never do; for be it upon an invasion, you may be sure that there is no prince will undertake so great an enterprize but he will be sure to have such a number of boats, gallies, and other small vessels of draught as he will be able to land at one time two or three thousand men; which boats shall be so well appointed with busses, and other shot besides, the gallies scouring the shore with great ordnance, as they will be sure to make way for their quiet landing. And for mine own part I much doubt whether you shall have in two or three days after the firing of the beacons such a sufficient number as with wisdom and discretion were fit to deal or venture a fight with so many men as they will land in an hour, for any thing that ever I could yet see in the country's readiness at the firing of the beacons. If the enemy doth intend but to land, and burn some houses or villages near to the sea coasts, for the prevention thereof, as much as may be, it were good to appoint those that dwell within two or three miles of the sea side to repair thither to make resistance, and for their succour you may appoint the

horsemen to draw down to the plains next adjoining to the same, who may also keep them in bay, from straggling far into the country.

But if the attempt be made by a prince purposed and appointed to invade, if you give them battle at the first landing, you offer them even the thing they most desire. And it is a thousand to one a conquest the first day. My reasons are these: First, you give battle. But I pray you with what people? even with the countrymen altogether unexperienced in martial actions, whose leaders are like to themselves. And one other thing as dangerous as all this, you fight at home, where your people know the next way to save themselves by flight, in recovering of towers, woods, and byeways. Contrarywise, with whom do you encounter, but with a company of pickt and trained soldiers, whose leaders and captains are no doubt men both politic and valiant, who are made so much the more desperate and bold by not leaving to themselves any other hope to save their lives but by marching over their bellies. And besides it is to be imagined, that having spread some faction before amongst yourselves (as there is no country free from seditious and treacherous malecontents) they are more animated to pursue the victory more sharply. Again, you once receive an overthrow, what fear and terror you have brought yourselves into? How hardly you shall bring a second battle; and how dangerous to fight with your men dismayed, those that be of experience can judge. Likewise what pride and jollity you have put your enemies in by their victory to march forwards, having no forts nor fenced towns to give them any stop in this fear, or for your own people to take breath, and make head again. And that your enemies and factious companies of your own nation may join together, and be furnished of victuals, horse and carriage, at their will and pleasure, without the which no prince can prevail in any invasion; for if you drive him



to bring these things with him (as if matters be well foreseen and a good plot laid, you may easily do) a world of shipping will scarce suffice for the transportation thereof; besides an infinite mass and charge, that must be provided beforehand; yea, and what waste and loss thereof will fall out, though wind, weather, and shipping, were had, to pass without disturbance, experience remaineth yet fresh in memory. Again, if scarcity of victuals and unfavouriness thereof once grow, the pestilence and other sickness which doth assail the best victualled and ordered army that ever was, will then be doubled and trebled in such sort, as it will in short time fight and get the victory for you. And here, by the way, I would put you in remembrance, that there be continual lets and disturbances by your navy of the quiet passing of their victuals, which should come unto them, whereof you shall oftentimes take advantage also by storms and contrary winds. Wherefore I hold it for the best and surest way (so that your navy be upon the sea, and not prisoned within land) to suffer the enemies coming to invade, to land quietly at his pleasure, which he will otherwise do whether you will or no, only fronting him in the plains with your horsemen, and by all means and diligence to draw the victuals, cattells, carriages, and corn, behind your back, and that which you cannot to waste and spoil, that the enemy take no advantage thereof, keeping in your power such straits and passages with your footmen as may be kept. The which with small number of your horsemen assistant you may safely do, until greater power do come to back you. And though they win some straight, (which they cannot do without great loss) yet by keeping back-receipts in straits you shall always, if you shall be so driven, retire without any great loss or danger. And always remember to leave a ward in every place meet to be trenched and guarded, though it be but of twenty or thirty persons, which will be an occasion for the enemy to stop and to stay at the winning of

A a 2

them

them before they can pass. Because also those few numbers will always annoy their victuals and munition, that daily and hourly must have free and quiet passage unto them. Now if they tarry the winning or yielding of them up (though it be but a day or two to keep, you get thereby time to yourselves to grow stronger, and your enemy loofeth opportunity, and waxeth weaker; for we see and find by experience, that huge armies lying in the fields but fifteen or sixteen weeks, are brought to that weakness, and their first courage so abateth by sickness and pestilence, which are handmaids to such great assemblies, in camp especially, where any want of those things are that belong to the good sustentation of man's body, that they may then with smaller numbers and less danger be dealt withall than at first landing. Moreover, your people shall in that time attain to some knowledge by daily exercise and use of order with their weapons; and the terror of shot will be more familiar to them, for it is not numbers that doth prevail, but trained men, resolute minds, and good order; for if a prince would only select, and set down, and choose out such men to wear as much, and employ the rest (I mean the baser sort) to spade and shovel; there is no doubt but he shall far sooner attain unto victory by this means, than with rude multitudes, in whom there is nothing but confusion and disorder. Again, the spade and the shovel are so necessary instruments in the time of war, both to the invader and defender, as nothing is so impossible that thereby may not be achieved and made easy, and without the employment thereof we cannot presume at any time of safety. I could discourse at large hereof in shewing the use and benefit of them; but because to every man of judgment and experience it is sufficiently known, I shall not need to speak much therein, but wish you to embrace them, being to a defender so special and singular a commodity, in that he may better be furnished with infinite numbers of them.

And



And moreover, if you shall appoint them to weapons who are apter to labour than to fight, you shall find double inconveniency thereby in misplacing them contrary to their natural disposition and use. And touching mine own opinion and judgment, I should more stand in fear of a few pickt and choice soldiers, that were furnished with a sufficient number of pioneers, than with the hugeness of an army of unselected and disfurnished numbers. Now to say somewhat by the way touching your armed pikers, the only body, strength, and bulwark in the field, it is not a little to be lamented to see them so generally decayed in this land, giving ourselves so much to that French order of shot, whereby we have so wonderfully weakened ourselves, as it is high time to look to the restoring of them again. And yet touching the use of shot, as it is a singular weapon, being put into the hands of the skilful and exercised soldier (being the pillars and upholders of the pikes, and without which there is no perfect body), so no doubt, on the contrary part, committed to a coward, or an unskilful man's handling, it is the previest thief in the field; for he robbeth pay, consumeth victuals, and slayeth his own fellows in discharging behind their backs. And one thing even is as ill as this, he continually wasteth powder, the most precious jewel of a prince. Whereof I would wish captains not only to reject such as are altogether unapt, but also greatly to commend of them, that discharge but few shot, and bestow them well, for it is more worthy of praise to discharge fair and leisurely, than fast and unadvisedly, the one taking advantage by wariness and foresight, whereas the other looseth all with rashness and hast. But to return to the pike again, myself being in the Low Countries and in the camp, when these great armies were last assembled, and perusing in every severall regiment the sorting and division of weapons, as well as their order and discipline, there were two nations (the French king's one) that had not between them  
both

both a hundred pikes; whereof I much marvelling, and desiring greatly to know the cause that had moved them to leave the pike, which in my conceit I always judged the strength of the field; happening afterwards in the company of certain French captains, some of them antient in years, and such as were of the religion, I demanded the reason that had moved them to give over that defensible weapon, the pike, and to betake them altogether to shot? Not to any disliking, or other cause, said they, but for that we have not such personable bodies, as you Englishmen have, to bear them; neither have we them at that commandment as you have, but are forced to hire other nations to supply our insufficiency, for of ourselves we cannot say we can make a complete body.

Moreover they affirmed, that in the time of Newhaven, if we had let them have but 6000 of our armed pikes, they would have marched through all France, so highly esteemed they of the pike, who nevertheless in our judgment seem to have given over the same, or to make small account thereof.

Moreover for the better and readier ordering and training of your men in every shire, those, that are appointed to be private captains, should have under every of their several charges only one sort of weapon, viz. one captain to have the charge of pikes, another of shot, &c. And no man's band to be less than 200 men. By means whereof your serjeant major, or such, to whom you shall commit the order of your footmen, may from time to time readily know the numbers of every sort of weapons, whereby at one instant a skilfull man may range them into any order and form of battle you will have them. And every captain and his officers shall serve with their own men, which is a matter of great contentment both to captain and soldier. For otherwise he have charge of more sorts of weapons, then must he either disjoin himself from his officers in time of service, or else he must commit his men under another man's



man's direction, which breedeth oftentimes great disliking and murmur.

Orders for the provision and guard of the beacons. First, that the beacons be provided of good matter and stuff, as well for the sudden kindling of the fires, as also for the continuance thereof.

That the beacons and watch-places appointed to give warning to the country of the landing or invasion of the enemy, be substantially guarded with a sufficient company, whereof one principall person of good discretion to have the chief charge at all times of every beacon.

That the beacons that are next to the sea side, and are appointed to give warning first, may be very sufficiently guarded as well with horsemen as footmen, whereof some discreet soldier, or man of judgment, to have the chief charge, (as hath been said before) who must be very respective and carefull, that he give not any alarm upon light matter or occasion, nothing being more dangerous than false alarms to breed a contempt and security. Your horsemen must be ready to give warning to the other beacons in the country, lest by weather they may be prevented, that they cannot kindle fire, or else the enemy may hinder them, or extinguish the fire newly kindled, before the other beacons can take knowledge thereof. For it is always to be feared, that the enemy will seek by all means and policy to surprize the beacons that are next to the sea side, and should give first intelligence unto the country, but also to surprize such as are appointed to guard them, if their watchfulness prevent them not.

Other necessary notes to be observed.

That there may be order taken to have a store of powder, match, bullets ready cast, moulds of divers bores, charges, bowstrings, shooting gloves, war braces, and such other necessaries fit to be used at that time, whereof I doubt me whether the whole shire be able

to furnish the tenth part that would be required. Wherefore it were good to be provided beforehand, and brought in carts to these places of assembly, whereby men may be readily furnished for their money, and the service nothing hindered in the time of need.

That it be looked into by such as have charge to take the view of men and their weapons, that every shot be provided of a mould, a proyning pin, a ferris, and a flint; which things be as needful to be seen unto as the piece itself, although few provide and make reckoning thereof.

That in the said musters and assemblies there be good numbers of labourers appointed, who may also be assigned to have a spade, a mattock, a shovel, an axe, or a bill; and these pioneers to resort to the places of assembly at every alarm; over whom should be a skilful engineer appointed to have a chief charge and government.

And whereas you have great numbers of hacknies, or hobblers, I would wish that upon them you mount as many of the lightest and nimblest shot you can, which may be sent down to the sea side upon any alarm, or to such straits and places of advantage as to a discreet leader shall seem convenient. The which argaletier shall stand you in as great stead as horses of better account. For if by the means of them men will take their courage to offer a proud attempt upon the enemy, being assured of their succour, if any occasion or appearance of danger force them to retire.

*Indorsed November 18, 1596.*



XIII. *Copy of a Manuscript in the British Museum, (Harl. MSS. 6844, fol. 49) entitled, "An Expedient or Meanes in Want of Money to Pay the Sea and Land Forces, or as many of them as shall be thought expedient without Money in this Year of an almost Univerfal Povertie of the English Nation."* By Fabian Philipps. *Communicated by the Rev. Samuel Ayscough, F. A. S.*

Read March 9, 1797.

QUEEN Elizabeth, in her great want of money in the wars of Ireland to pay the army, did, by the advice of as prudent a council as any prince in christendom ever had, cause some brass money to be coyned and made current for her present occasions, upon her royal promise to give those which should receive it good money of gold or silver, some years after which king James, her successor, did justly cause to be performed. [MS. of an account given by Robert Cecill, earl of Salisbury, lord treasurer of England to the parliament in the raigne of king James.]

By as politique a councell the late king of Spain, and his father Philip the III<sup>d</sup>, caused the like to be done by their black monyes, or maravedies, only made to satisfy the necessities of their people, whilst they expended their Indian mynes and vast riches and treasure of gold and silver in the subduing the Netherland rebels,

and their endeavours of conquering or encroaching upon their neighbour's dominions, as they have done at Porto Rico, St. Domingo, and other of their West Indian dominions, where they have made small pieces of leather to be current instead of money, whilst they transported their vast quantities of gold and Silver into Europe. Lewis Robert's Map of Commerce, Ch. V.

The provident and thrifit Dutch, who live in a marsh or boggie countrie where mines of gold and silver did not inhabit, have had long agoe, and at this day, their stiver money made of brafs, whereof to make an English shilling, besides their orkins, dots, and blanks, made of brafs or copper, which did in part fatisfie the numerous necessary and small occasions of their industrious and trading people.

The Swedes have their angler, or farthing, the Genoese their diner, the Turks, who possess too much of the riches of gold and silver of the east, have their dinar or farthing. The Swedes, though now full of German spoils and plunder, do find it reason of state to continue their copper money. The Scots their penny, whereof 12 make but our English penny; and in England, many years in the reigns of king James and king Charles the martyr, have taught us the happy usage of brafs farthings, unhappily difused by the late rebellious state founders, and now so wanted, and yet known to be for public use, as the chandlers and vintners have caused them to be made and pass for current money under their names and marks, upon no greater assurance than that they will, if they happen to come again into their hands, allow as much for them, so that the neighbourhood will not refuse them.

Some people of Africa have of shells made their money, and iron, or balls of glafs. The people of Cathay of salt, and little pieces of paper. Those of Pegu of copper and lead. And in other places of the Indies pepper and cocoa nuts have passed for money by authority



riety of their princes, or an universal and tacite consent of those more uncivilized nations where plenty of gold and silver have not been wanting. And in our Barbadoes, and other American plantations, they have well enough supplied their want of money by pounds of sugar or tobacco, which manner of supplying the want of money hath not only been so practised by the kings of Spain, Queen Elizabeth, and those many other princes and nations but 1600 years before by leather money coined in our Britaine by Julius Cæsar. And the Roman, and more ancient nations, were not without their brass money, and made far spreading so good use of it as the Latin language doth not seldom comprehend silver and gold, and all other monies under the notion of it. And therefore certainly some small moneys made of brass or tin, which other nations have but little of, and by a late invention will very much resemble silver, than formerly made use of, may be now upon a greater necessity than ever England had, and with as much, if not greater reason, for that by the charge and more expensive and dilatory course of warr now in use than formerly, alteration of tenures in capite, and by knights service into socage, discharging their generous and unhired services in warr, as horsemen and men of the best education, virtue, and renown, with their many then obliged tenants and servants to attend them, the now more than formerly great pay and wages of seamen and soldiers, incertainty of their skill, courage, and fidelity, and the ever certain danger of their mutinies, revolt, and treacherys, too likely to happen if they have not money, there is now in the affairs or matters of war more need than ever of money, without which or something equivalent to it, if three of the largest shires of England, viz. Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Essex, were covered with men, arms, ammunition, and all manner of warlike provisions, it would be little more than nothing conducive either to a victory or self-preservation.

To avoid which, and to give some ease and respite to the great expenders of money in pride and luxury, and by that means the now more than formerly monylefs people of England, it is with submission to better judgments humbly proposed, that some coin (not counterfailable) equivalent to our little or small remainder of money lefte may be made of tynne or some other base metall to a certain quantity, enough to pay the sea and land forces in this present exigence and distrefs of the kingdom, and made current by authority of parliament, as to small sums of money only under forty shillings for a certain time not exceeding seven years, upon an assurance of parliament that after the expiration of those years that money and coin of inferior metall shall after its circle and course run from one another, limited only to our own and domestic occasions, be really and truly satisfied in good current money of gold or silver by some tax or assessment to be employed for that only particular end, and not otherwise; which will be as prudentiall and little inconvenient to the people as that of Julius Cæsar in his coining of leather money to support his great and fortunate designs; as that of our king Edward III. abating the weight of the coin of England, and keeping up the value; that of king Henry VIIIth. enhauncing the 7s. piece to 7s. 6d. and the ounce of gold that was before but 40s. to 45s. and his mingling some of his coin of gold with copper; that of king Edward VI. raising of money by 2000 lb. weight of bullion appointed to be made so much baser that the king might thereby gain one hundred and forty thousand pounds. That of queene Elizabeths brasse money to pay the Irish armies. That of king James his raising of his coins of gold from 20s. to 22s. and in lesser pieces observing the like proportion, whereby to keep our gold (now notwithstanding its every day running out of England) from being transported into the parts beyond the seas; and that which hath sucefsfully been practised by



many other nations, and by the Spaniards, whose base or black money, there so called, if forbidden, would, for want of other monies to supply the occasions of that nation at home, whilst they paid their armies and hired soldiers abroad with better money, would be the utter and irrecoverable ruin of that king and people.

When every man may acknowledge it to be a sadly experimented truth that by the unlawful transport of our money as frequently, if not more, than merchandize and commodities, a more than 20 years warrs and taxes unbecoming, vast and luxurious expences at home, and sending our moneys into foreign parts to purchase vanities not only for the nobility, gentry, but our citizens, mechanics, artifans, and common and ordinary servants, our England and almost all sorts of the people in it, are so impoverished and ruined as they have not wherewithall to pay their debts, rents, or taxes, or to help to maintain an army to defend their king, country, children and posterity, and resist insulting and provoking neighbour enemies, that if the debasing of our coin upon some of our princes occasions had done any hurt to some particular persons, yet the good it generally brought did greatly overballence it, and that it being in some years after recalled and reduced, all the harm it did was to relieve the present necessities with a far less damage than the abasing or altering the value of the money would have enforced upon it.

That of evils the less are to be chosen, that the not having of money to repell the enemy, or being subdued for want of it, will allways be found to be more prejudiciall than any imaginary money can be to prevent it, that all the ways, but this of our forefathers, have been by our princes great occasions for their and our preservation worn out and tired, and can no more be trodden: and that when the people are willing, as they ought, to furnish their soveraign's necessary and importunate occasions, and have no money nor can borrow any to do it.

There

There can be no better way than to make every man a creditor, and keep as much as we can that little good money which is left in the kingdom, and enable every man to supply more than at present he is or can be. And by his majesty making current by authority of Parliament an imaginary kind of money upon a credit given by the people one to another, confirmed and made real and as much in good money undertaken to be repaid them by their representatives the parliament.

(Rot. Parl. 5 R. II. m. 24.) In the parliament of the 5 R. II. how to restrain the carrying away of money, which was the care and endeavours of many a parliament both before and afterwards, when there was such a plenty of gold in the 18 E. III. the commons in parliament prayed that no man should be enforced to receive gold, the same being under 20s.; and in a parliament in the 20th year of that king's reign, that the king's receivers might receive as well gold as silver. (Rot. Parl. 18 E. III. m. 50. and 20 E. III. m. 17.)

There being now a greater cause to assay all lawfull means for the more plenty of money than there was in the 15 E. III. when it was mentioned to be one of the causes of summoning that parliament, or for a consultation to be had as was. (Rot. Par. 15 E. III.)

It being as impossible as it will be improbable that ever many should have plenty, or be without a great want of it, or not be beaten or baffled by enemies abroad or at home, for want of money of silver or gold to serve the affairs of the nation if they do as we have hitherto done make it of a greater intrinsique value, or of higher alloy than the coin of other neighbour nations, which make a cause and temptation of transporting of it adjudged to be so, and so not to be prevented by the Parliament. If our merchants and all others make it their busy gains and advantage to  
 6 carry



carry out as much as they can of the money already in England, and what shall at any time after be brought into it. If by the unlawful tricks and now introduced trade of goldsmiths, in melting down our heavy moneys, and all other moneys they can come at, by making our moneys a commodity to be transported or turned into plate to furnish every alehouse, or the inferior ranks of people; shall be countenanced and continued; and if no other metall should be coyned to make an exchange or commensuration in the daily and common occasions of the multitude for their food and sustenance to keep the people from being tartars and tories, necessitated to take all the courses they can of violence, rapine, and outrages one to another, or to make the poorer sort of people for want of work or trade, which cannot be had, or driven without money to raise tumults or mutinies. And it being on the contrary very possible and probable to prevent all or most of those growing and dangerous evils, if we would return to our own good laws and customs, which we have too much quarrelled with. If the people would not foolishly waste and consume our own monies, and send it into foreign parts to purchase pride and superfluities, and carry away the dollars and pieces of eight which our merchants bringing into England, are sold by them to the goldsmiths and bankers, who usurp the offices and places of the king's exchangers for 4*s.* 3*d.* a piece, and sent away as fast as they come to France for 4*s.* 10*d.* and to Ireland and Scotland for 5*s.* a piece, which makes our mint stand idle, and Ireland and Scotland full of dollers and pieces of eight, when England hath none or very few of them, or but very little of other money, and is ready to starve or perish for want of it. If we kept our own coined money at home, and carried not away the foreign coin and moneys which came in unto us; if we made as our neighbour nations have done some inferior base mettled moneys to help to save our moneys, and did our people not suffer ourselves to be deluded with the evill designs and talk rather than reason.

reason of those that gain by beggaring our heretofore rich and flourishing nation, that the more moneys are sent out of England the more will come in, when it is sent out as fast as it comes in, with much of that which we had of our own before, as if England had mines of gold and silver inexhaustible; as if depths had no bottom, breadths or lengths had nothing to terminate it, but were infinite; and as if our people of England, whose merchants and traders at sea are not one in every thousand of our many people, servants, women and children excepted, were all or the greatest part, as the Dutch, who with their wives and many of their children, and servants, do continually employ themselves in trade; and being the great and common carriers of the world, ingrossers of all the trade thereof, and more cunning traders into all the parts of it, are sure if they carry out their moneys to bring in a great deal more with advantage.

FAB. PHILIPPS [b].

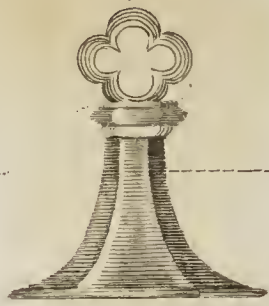
4 July 1667.

[b] Fabian Philipps was a barrister of the Middle Temple. He was born at Prestbury in Gloucestershire, an. 1601, and died in 1690. See Wood's Fasti, Oxon. f. 3, 4, where is given a list of many of his writings, which were numerous and chiefly political. In the British Museum, Sloane MSS. 970, f. 26, is a Discourse by him "Touching the Antiquity of the Temple Inns of Court."

Wood describes him as a man of considerable learning, and much attached to the study of antiquity; and says, "that he was always a zealous asserter of the king's prerogative, and so passionate a lover of king Ch. I. that two days before he was beheaded he wrote a *Protestation against his intended murder*, which he printed, and caused to be put on posts and in all common places. He was Filacer for *London, Middlesex, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire*, and did spend much money in searching and writing for the asserting of the king's prerogative, yet got nothing by it, only the employment of one of the commissioners appointed for the regulation of the law, worth £. 200 *per annum*, which lasted only for two years."







1



3



2



4



XIV. *Explanation of a Seal of Netley Abbey, in a Letter from the Rev. John Brand, Secretary. Addressed to the President.*

Read Jan. 26, 1797.

MY LORD,

THE matrix of an antient seal, the property of Mr. George Spence, of Old Bond Street, which your Lordship did me the honour to put into my hands for the purpose of exhibiting to the Society of Antiquaries, being unaccompanied with any explanation, I have therefore ventured to give one, which I submit with great deference to the correction of your Lordship and the Society.

I read the inscription as follows :

“S’ BEATE MARIE DE STOW’E SCI EDWARD.”

At full length :

“ Sigillum beate Marie de Stowe sancti Edwardi.”

Your Lordship will please to remember that in Tanner’s *Notitia Monastica*, “*Edwardstow*” occurs as the old name of *Netley Abbey*, in Hampshire, the most picturesque ruins of which still continue to be the admiration of every visitant, and compose the scene of the celebrated *Elegy*, written by a respectable member of this Society.

“*Stow*” is well known to signify “*place*,” so that “*Edwardstow*”

*stow*" latinized upon this seal by "*Stowe Sancti Edwardi*" was probably the original name of the monastery, and this was its *first* seal, representing *the Virgin Mary and Child*, with *St. Edward* with uplifted hands, kneeling before her. See Pl. XIII. fig. 1.

This famous abbey, distinguished by the several titles of "*Netteley*"—"*Lettely*"—"*Edwardstow*"—or "*De Loco S. Edwardi juxta Southampton*," was founded in the year 1239 by king Henry the IIIrd. for Cistercian monks from Beaulieu, and dedicated to *St. Mary* and *St. Edward*. In Madox's History of the Exchequer, p. 469, it is stiled "*Locus S. Edwardi, quam moderni Natele vocant*." In the foundation charter of Henry III. preserved in the first volume of Dugdale's Monasticon, p. 933, it is called "*Ecclēsia Sanctæ Mariæ de Loco Sancti Edwardi, quam nos fundavimus in Suthhamptescir*." An accurate drawing of so great a curiosity should surely be directed to be made by the Society, to be preserved in their collection of Antient Seals.

I have the honour to be,

with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

very faithful humble Servant,

*Somerset Place,*  
*January 23, 1797.*

JOHN BRAND, *Sec.*

*The Earl of Leicester, P. M. G.*  
*Ec. Ec. Ec.*  
*President of the Society of Antiquaries.*

P. S.



P. S. There are preserved in the archives of this Society two drawings of seals of this abbey, under the name of *Lettely Abbey*, appendant to a deed dated 3 Edw. III. and exhibited herewith. One is the abbot's seal, representing an abbot holding a book in one hand, and a crozier in the other, with this inscription: "S'ABBIS LOCI SCI EDWARDI." Pl. XIII. fig. 2. The other is very much mutilated, and represents an abbot with two monks on each side of him. Fig. 3. What remains of the inscription is as follows:—S"COMMVNE ABBIS LOCI SCI EDWARDI DE LETTELVE." I have distinguished the hiatus in this inscription by a line drawn under the letters.

XV. *Explanation of a Seal of the Abbey of Lundores, in Scotland, by the Rev. John Brand, Secretary. In a Letter addressed to Owen Salusbury Brereton, Esq. Vice President.*

Read May 11, 1797.

SIR,

Somerset Place, May 20, 1797.

THE matrix of a very old seal, (made, it should seem, of the bone of some animal) and which you did me the honour to put into my hands last week for the purpose of finding out to what place it belonged, I have the pleasure to inform you I am now able, under the correction of this learned Society, to explain.

It has not, as you were induced from the similarity of names to suppose, the smallest connexion with *London*, the metropolis of England, but is a Scottish seal, and most probably the first and original one of the rich *Abbey of Lundores* in the forest, on the river Tay, by the town of Newburgh, in Fifeshire, founded by David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to William, king of Scotland, on his return from the Holy Land, A. D. 1178, for Tyronenses.

This matrix represents the *Virgin Mary* seated, with our Saviour in her lap, holding a branch in her right hand, and the abbey of *Lundores* in her left. Pl. XIII. fig. 4. The inscription runs thus: "*Sigillum Sancte Marie et Sci Andree de Lundo\*\*\**;" here a piece has been broken off; part of the *R* is however still visible, and there is no doubt but that the letters *e* and *s* followed it. My reasons for fill-  
ing



ing up the hiatus in the above manner cannot but be thought satisfactory, when I assure you, that, as on the one hand, no traces of evidence can be found to evince that any *abbey, monastery, nunnery, or hospital*, of the age of this matrix, was dedicated to *Saint Mary and Saint Andrew* in the city of *London*; so on the other there is luckily preserved at the end of the second volume of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, among the "*Cænobia Scotica*," copied from the original by sir James Balfoure, Lyon King at Arms, the charter of foundation of *an Abbey for Monks at Londores, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Andrew*. With respect to the union you mentioned of the parishes of *St. Mary at Hill*, and *St. Andrew Hubbard* in *London*, that did not take place till after the Great Fire, A. D. 1666; and so far are these two parishes from having a common seal, that they have distinct vestries, records, &c. and every year elect different churchwardens. Though appropriated to our Sister Kingdom, you cannot, sir, but agree with me in thinking this seal a very great curiosity, and will, no doubt, have the goodness to direct our draftsman to take a drawing of it, to be preserved in the archives of the Society. The charter of foundation runs thus: "*Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, et fidelibus, tam præsentibus quam futuris, Comes David, Frater Regis Scotiæ, salutem. Sciatis me fundasse quandam abbaciam apud Londors, de ordine Kelchorensi, ad honorem Dei et S. Mariæ Virginis, et S. Andree Apostoli, omniumque sanctorum, pro salute animæ Regis Davidis, avi mei, et pro salute animæ comitis Henrici patris mei; et pro salute animæ Regis Willielmi fratris mei: et Reginae Armegard et omnium antecessorum meorum; et pro salute animæ meæ et Matildis comitissæ sponsæ meæ; et pro salute animæ Davidis filii mei et omnium successorum meorum; et pro salute animarum fratrum et sororum meorum. Concessi etiam et hac carta mea confirmavi prædictæ abbaciæ de Londors et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam, ecclesiam de Londors;*

cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et terram ad prædictam ecclesiam pertinentem, in bosco et plano, sicut eam Magister Thomas tenuit et habuit.

Et ecclesiam de *Dunde*, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Et ecclesiam de *Fintriche*, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; et ecclesiam de *Inverurin* cum capella de *Munkegin* et omnibus aliis pertinentiis suis: et ecclesiam de *Durnach*: et ecclesiam de *Prame*: et ecclesiam de *Inchemabanin*; et ecclesiam de *Culsamuel*: et ecclesiam de *Kelalemund* cum capellis earundem ecclesiarum: et terris et decimis et omnibus aliis pertinentiis earum ad proprios usus et sustentationes eorundem monachorum.

Quare volo et concedo, &c.—Has autem ecclesias prænominato monasterio de *Londors* et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, ita libere et pacifice jure perpetuo possidenda concessi et confirmavi, ut succedentium nullus aliquid ab eis nisi solas orationes ad animæ salutem exigere præsumat. Hiis testibus, *Villielmo Rege Scotiæ*, *Johanne episcopo Aberdonensi*, *Radulpho episcopo Brechinensi*, *Osberto abbate Kelchoensi*, &c. &c. cum multis aliis.”

*Lundores* was erected into a temporary barony by James the VIth, A. D. 1600, in favour of Patric Lesly, son of Andrew, earl of Rothes.

I have the honor to be,

with great respect,

Sir,

Your very faithful humble Servant,

JOHN BRAND, *Sec.*

*Owen Salisbury Brereton, Esq. V. P.*

*&c. &c. &c.*



XVI. Copy of an Original Instrument dated 25 Nov. 1449, concerning the Church-yard of St. Mary Magdalen in Milk Street, London. Exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries by Thomas Loggen, Esq.

Read March 23, 1797.

“ **I**N Dei nomine amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter quod anno ab incarnatione dominica millm<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>mo</sup> nonagesimo nono indictione tertia pontificatus vero sanctissimi patris et Domini nostri Domini Alexandri divina providentia pape sexti anno octavo mensis vero Novembris die vicesima quinta in quodam mesuagio sive taberna vocat' *le Egle* situat in *Westchepa* civitatis *London* in mei que notarii publici subscripti et testium infrâ script' presentia personaliter constitutus honorabilis et providus vir magister Robertus Sheffield clericus filius ut asseruit Edmundi Sheffield quondam de parochia *omnium sanctorum in Honylane* dicte civitatis *London* comorantis apud *le hôle Bülle* ibidem sponte et ex suo mero motu atque certa scientia ac libera et spontanea sua voluntate nullo errore ductus nulloque vi metu dolo seu fraude coactus non deceptus non seductus nec aliqua alia sinistra machinatione ut asseruit circumvent'—sed ex animo deliberat' ac in rei veritatis testimon' deposuit confessatus fuit dixit et publice fatebatur certa verba Anglicana sequencia seu alia eis confirmilia scilicet: *Sirs ye shall understand that I am wele remembered, how a pece of voide grounde lying in the parish of Saint Mary Magdalene in Milkstrete of London, on the west side of the same strete was com̄nly named and called the Chirche-yard of Saint Mary Magdalene Chirche in Milkstrete aforefaide And that there stode a crosse in and uppon the same voide grounde of the height of a man or more And that the same crosse was worshipped by the parishens there as*

I

*crosses*

*crosses be commonly worshipped in other Chircheyardes* Super quibus omnibus et singulis premiffis sic actis parochiani dicte parochie Sancte Marie Magdalene de Milkstrete rogaverunt et requisiverunt me notarium publicum subscriptum eis conficere instrumentum publicum seu instrumenta publica unum vel plura, acta sunt hec prout suprascribuntur et recitantur sub anno incarnationis dominice indictione pontificatu mense die et loco predict' Presentibus tunc ibidem discretis et fide dignis viris *Johanne Gose de London parishes clerk* et *Georgio Grene cive et Vinitario London'* testibus ad premiffa vocat' specialiter et rogat'.

Et ego vero *Morganus Williams civis civitatis London publicus* auctoritate apostolica *Notarius* premiffis omnibus et singulis dum sic ut premittitur agebantur et fiebant una cum prenominatis testibus presens personaliter interfui eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audivi aliisque arduis aliunde prepeditis negociis per alium premiffa scribi feci publicavi et in hanc publicam formam redegi *signoq* et *nomine* meis solitis et consuetis signavi manu mea propria hic subscribend' rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum premifforum."

(Indorsed in a more modern hand :) " This instrument specifies of *the Church-yard* that somtyme belongid to the parish of *Saynt Mary Magdalen in Mylkstret* on the backside of *Corbett's house* in *Woodstret*, and on the west side of the place or house that somtyme belonged to *Sir John Browne, knyght and alderman of London*, and joynyng to a certeynd warehouse with chambres above, which now belongyth to the said *Corbett*."

(Indorsed also in another place)

" An instrument consernyng the old *Church-yard* on the backside of *Corbetts howse*."



XVII. *Copy of an Original Letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Warwick. Exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries by Peter Renouard, Esq. F. A. S. in whose Family this curious Paper has long remained.*

Read March 16, 1797.

( C O P Y )

BY THE QUEENE.

“ ELIZABETH R.

**R**IGHT trusty and right wel beloved coufin we greette yow well. We have at fundry tymes heard and conferrid with Sr. Hugh Pawlet Knight upon suche matters as he had in commiffion to informe or demaunde of us. And therein we thinke, before this tyme yow ar advertisid at good lengthe by Lrres from our cownfell. And therin we have also perticulerly debatid with the said Sr. Hugh Pawlet upon all the matters by him to us propoundid, not doubting but he will declare unto yow our earnest determination to go through with all things that any wise shall concerne the defence of that Towne against all vyolence and force, that can be devisid by the ennemy [a]. And considering the substance therof dependith

[a] Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1563, appointed Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, (to whom this letter is addressed) “ her lieutenant and captain-general of her subjects that should in any wise pass over into Normandy.” And in the month of October he landed at Newhaven (Havre de Grace) with a body of three thousand English troops. He employed every means for putting it in a posture of defence, and was successful in several skirmishes with the enemy near the town, but was not able to retain the possession of it longer than the 28th of July following, when it was delivered up to the French, to whom it became a much easier acquisition than was expected, in conse-

pendith upon thre principall things, men, money and vittell, we are resolvid and have alreadye putte in execution, that there shal be no lacke of any of them. And we praye yow to notifiye unto all our good servaunts and subjects the gentlemen and capteins there, that we take it no small augmentation to the hon<sup>r</sup>. of our crowne and realme, and specially to our nation, that they have hitherto so manfully and skilfully acquyted themselves against the Rhingrave and his best soldiours. And although the preservacion of that Towne tendith to the importance of great commoditie to our crowne: yet beyde that we make no small accompt, that by the straite defence therof against the whole force of France: this our nation shall recover the ancient fame which heertofore it had, and of late with

quence of the plague which broke out among the English soldiers, and which was afterwards brought by them to England. See Holinshed's Chron. Vol. III. p. 1195 to 1204, edit. 1587. Hume's Hist. Vol. V. p. 79, 8vo.

Mr. Hume says that "Warwick, who had frequently warned the English council of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, found himself obliged to capitulate, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison. The articles were no sooner signed, than Lord Clinton, the admiral who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thousand men, and found the place surrendered to the enemy." He adds that "Queen Elizabeth's usual vigour and foresight did not appear in this transaction." Hume's Hist. Vol. V. p. 80.

The following passage from Holinshed shews that the Queen kept her word in sending a speedy supply: "The fourteenth of July Sir Hugh Paulet, Knyght, landed at Newhaven, bringing with him eight hundred soldiers out of Wiltshire and Gloucestershire," p. 1203, which was the last supply the garrison received.

A particular account of two skirmishes with the Rhingrave and his soldiers on the 22d of May and the 5th of June, may be seen in Holinshed, Vol. III. p. 1201, 1202. It is probable that the latter is alluded to in this letter. The historian observes "that Englishmen verily in thys service shewed that they were nothing degenerated from the auntiente race of theyr nobile progenitors." S. L.



the losse of Callais, lost also. This our opinion we praye yow to communicate to our subjects there, in such sorte as ye shall thinke meetest. And for your self, we assure yow, the constant good reporte made by all persons comming from thence, of your honorable and fervifable behaviour in that charge, meritethe such singuler fav<sup>r</sup>. at our hands, as we meane rather to shew some argument therof by our deedes and reward, then by wryting. Yeven under our signet at our manor of Grenewiche the 4<sup>th</sup> of July the fyveth yere of our Reign." (What follows is all in the Queen's hand writing.) " My deare Warwik if your honor and my desir could accord with the los of the nidefuls singlar I kipe, God helpe me so in my most nide as I wold gladly lis that one joint for your safe abode with me, but fins I can not that I wold, I wil do that I may, and wil rather drinke in an asin cup than you or yours shude not be foccerd both by sea and land yea and that with all spede possible, and let this my scribling hand witnes it to them all

Yours as my own E. R.

Elizabeth R."

(Indorsed)

(Seal lost.)

" To our right trusty and right wel beloved coufen the earl of Warwik our lieut<sup>ant</sup> generall in Normandy and defendour of the towne of Newehaven."

Indorsed also in another hand.

" The Qu. Majestie by Mr. Paulet promifis a spedy supplye  
4 July 1563."

XVIII. *Account of Flint Weapons discovered at Hoxne in Suffolk. By John Frere, Esq. F. R. S. and F. A. S. In a Letter to the Rev. John Brand, Secretary.*

Read June 22, 1797.

SIR,

I TAKE the liberty to request you to lay before the Society some flints found in the parish of Hoxne, in the county of Suffolk, which, if not particularly objects of curiosity in themselves, must, I think, be considered in that light, from the situation in which they were found. See Pl. XIV, XV.

They are, I think, evidently weapons of war, fabricated and used by a people who had not the use of metals. They lay in great numbers at the depth of about twelve feet, in a stratified soil, which was dug into for the purpose of raising clay for bricks.

The strata are as follows:

1. Vegetable earth  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet.
2. Argill  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet.
3. Sand mixed with shells and other marine substances  
1 foot.
4. A gravelly soil, in which the flints are found, generally at the rate of five or six in a square yard, 2 feet.

In the same stratum are frequently found small fragments of wood, very perfect when first dug up, but which soon decompose on being exposed to the air; and in the stratum of sand, (No. 3,) were found some extraordinary bones, particularly a jaw-bone of enormous size, of some unknown animal, with the teeth remaining in it. I was very eager to obtain a sight of this; and finding it had been carried to a neighbouring gentleman, I inquired of him, but learned that he had presented it, together with a huge thigh-bone, found





*Flint Weapon, found at Hoarne in Suffolk.*







*Flint Weapon found at Hoxne in Suffolk.*







in the same place, to Sir Ashton Lever, and it therefore is probably now in Parkinson's Museum.

The situation in which these weapons were found may tempt us to refer them to a very remote period indeed; even beyond that of the present world; but, whatever our conjectures on that head may be, it will be difficult to account for the stratum in which they lie being covered with another stratum, which, on that supposition, may be conjectured to have been once the bottom, or at least the shore, of the sea. The manner in which they lie would lead to the persuasion that it was a place of their manufacture and not of their accidental deposit; and the numbers of them were so great that the man who carried on the brick-work told me that, before he was aware of their being objects of curiosity, he had emptied baskets full of them into the ruts of the adjoining road. It may be conjectured that the different strata were formed by inundations happening at distant periods, and bringing down in succession the different materials of which they consist: to which I can only say, that the ground in question does not lie at the foot of any higher ground, but does itself overhang a tract of boggy earth, which extends under the fourth stratum; so that it should rather seem that torrents had washed away the incumbent strata and left the bog-earth bare, than that the bog earth was covered by them, especially as the strata appear to be disposed horizontally, and present their edges to the abrupt termination of the high ground.

If you think the above worthy the notice of the Society, you will please to lay it before them.

I am, Sir,

with great respect,

Your faithful humble Servant,

JOHN FRERE.

XIX. *Account of Antiquities from St. Domingo. In a Letter from Thomas Ryder, Esq. to the Rev. John Brand, Secretary.*

Read Nov. 30, 1797.

SIR,

**P**RESUMING your situation in a most respectable and learned Society will warrant the intrusion, I have taken the liberty of addressing you on a subject peculiarly within your province; and it will give me the highest pleasure if it is not altogether unworthy of their notice and your attention.

I am induced to intrude myself on the time of the Society by the following observation of Dr. Lort.

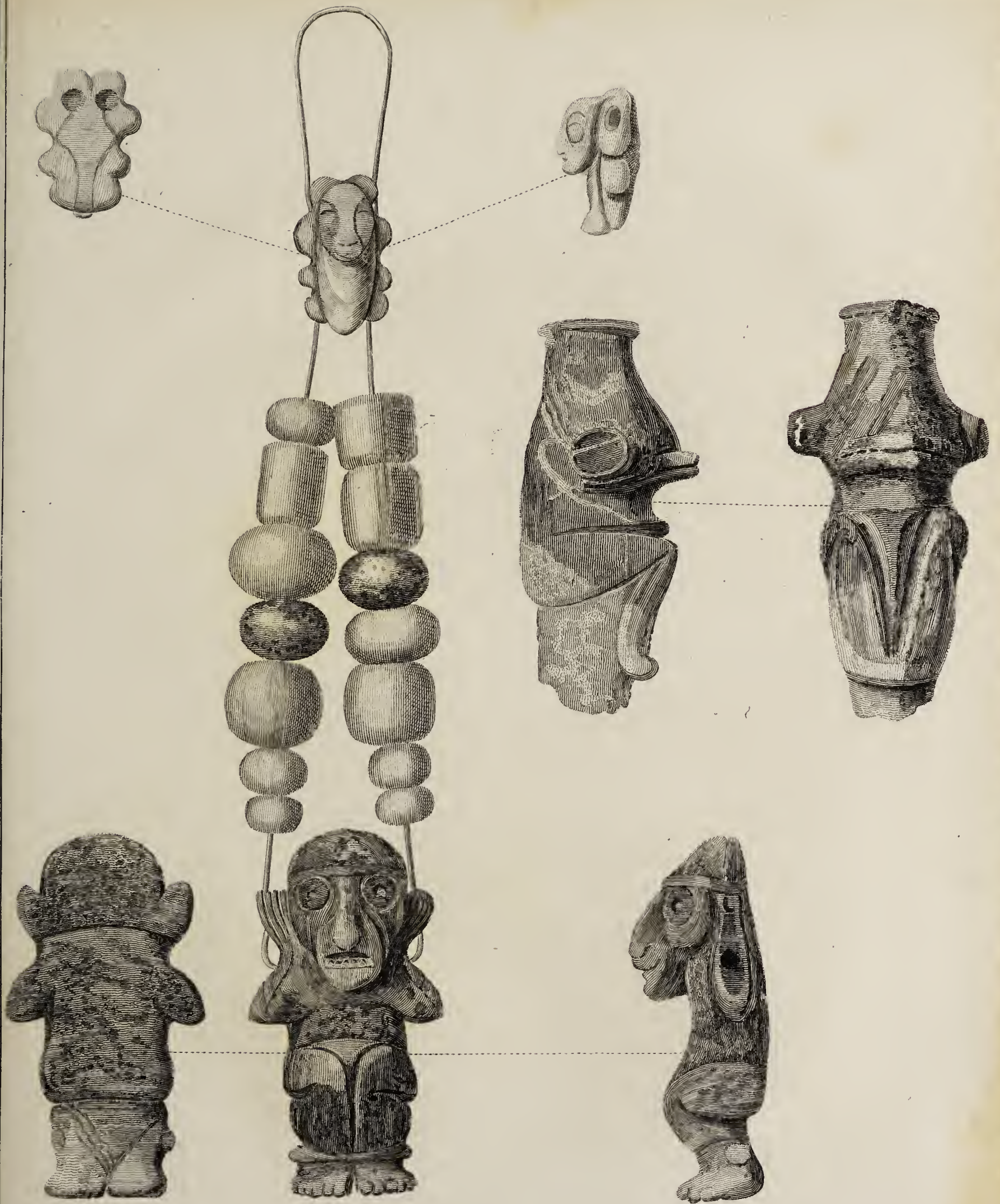
“The monuments of ancient art, noticed in North America, have been so few, that the discovery of any such has a particular claim to the attention of the learned in any part of the globe.”

The accompanying objects [a] for investigation were presented me by Lieut. James Ryder of the royal navy, who had the honour of serving his majesty on the late expedition to the West Indies.

“At the west end of the island of Hispaniola, called St. Domingo, he had them delivered to him by a sailor, (who had promiscuously strung them together) and which sailor observed he received them from a runaway negro, who took them out of a cave near Cape Nicholas, which few negroes had the courage to enter,” it being traditionally reported a god’s cave.

[a] These are represented in Plate XVI.





Antiquities from S<sup>t</sup> Domingo.





The figure or image without the beads carries with it the evidence of its being torn from its situation; and both appear to bear the marks of remote antiquity. Upon consulting with gentlemen for whose literary knowledge I have the greatest esteem, (one of whom has paid the most unwearied attention on the spot to every thing rare in Egypt and in Greece) I was persuaded to lay them before the Society of Antiquaries for inspection, and acceptance if worthy the honour. Should they elucidate any early, and perhaps till now unknown customs, I shall reflect with pleasure on their once being in my possession.

With the most perfect respect and esteem,

Sir, I have the honour to be

Your obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS RYDER.

185, Oxford Street,  
November 30, 1797.

*The Rev. John Brand,*  
*&c. &c. &c.*

XX. *Observations on Stone Pillars, Crosses, and Crucifixes, by Thomas Aftle, Esq. F. R. S. and F. A. S. In a Letter to the President.*

Read Jan. 11, 1798.

MY LORD,

PERMIT me to lay before you the following observations on erect stone pillars, crosses, and crucifixes. The drawings herewith transmitted to your lordship were selected by me from two volumes of drawings of Antiquities collected by John Anstis the Elder, Esq. Garter King at Arms, to which he prefixed the following title:

“ Imagines seu figuræ  
 Variarum Inscriptionum præcipue Sepulchralium,  
 Lapidum in orbes dispositorum;  
 Substructionum, quas Walli Kromlech et Kistvéan  
 nominant,  
 Cipporum, quos Cruces dicimus  
 Castrorum seu Castrametationum Antiquarum  
 in Angliâ, Scotiâ et Hiberniâ  
 Curâ Johannis Anstis Fecialium Principis  
 cognomento



cognomento Garter,  
Delineatæ, et ob oculos positæ  
Volumen Secundum.

I remain,

Your Lordship's

most faithful and

most obedient Servant,

*Battersea Rise,*  
December 12, 1797.

THOMAS ASTLE.

*To the Earl of Leicester,*  
*President of the Society of Antiquaries.*

S E C T. I.

*Of stones or pillars erect, as well rude as wrought and inscribed.*

IT appears from historians both sacred and profane, that single stones, or rude pillars, were erected on various occasions in the most early ages. Many instances of these monuments set up by the Patriarchs occur in the Old Testament; such was that raised by Jacob at Lug, afterwards named Bethel; as was also the pillar placed by him over the grave of Rachael. Joshua likewise erected a great stone for a memorial in Sechem [a]. The Gentiles also set up pillars of the same kind in every country for idolatrous purposes; and before arts were introduced they worshipped those rude stones, even prior to the emigration of Israel from Egypt [b]. The Paphians

[a] Joshua, chap. xxiv. ver. 24, 26, 27.

[b] Borlace's Cornwall, p. 161.

worshipped their Venus under the form of a white pyramid, and the Brachmans the Great God under the figure of a little column of stone; the symbol of Jupiter Ammon in his Egyptian Temple was a conic stone, and in Africa, Apollo's Image was an erect stone of a pyramidal form. The Jews also were carried away by this strong current of idolatry, and they set up Pillars on every high hill, and under every green tree [c]. So that this idolatry of worshipping rude stones may be reckoned to have infected by much the greatest part of the world, especially those parts which had any communication with Syria, Egypt, or Greece, and may with equal reason be supposed to have occasioned the erecting of many of those large stones which are to be found in Wales and Cornwall, whither the ancient Phenicians and Grecians frequently resorted for tin and other metals.

After christianity took place (says Mr. Borlace, p. 162) many continued to worship these stones, to pay their vows, and to devote their offerings at the places where they were erected, coming thither with lighted torches, and praying for safety and success; and this custom we can trace through the fifth and sixth centuries, even unto the seventh, as appears from the prohibitions of several councils.

In Ireland some of these stones have crosses cut on them, which are supposed to have been afterwards done by christians out of compliance with the Druid prejudices, that when Druidism fell before the Gospel, the common people, who were not easily to be diverted from their superstitious reverence for these stones, might pay a kind of justifiable adoration to them when thus appropriated to the use of christian memorials by the sign of the cross.

There are still some signs of adoration paid to such stones in the

[c] 2 Kings, ch. xvii. v. 10.



Scottish western isles even by the christians. They call them Bowing Stones; the *Even-Maschith* which the Jews were forbid to worship [d] signifies literally a bowing stone, and was doubtless so called because worshipped by the Canaanites. In the isle of Barray there is a stone about seven feet high, and when the inhabitants come near it, they take a religious turn round it, according to the ancient Druid custom [e].

Stones were also erected as memorials of civil contracts; thus when Jacob entered into a solemn contract with Laban, the former erected a pillar of stone [f]; and those who attended upon Laban took stones and made an heap to perpetuate their assent to the treaty.

The conic, pyramidal, and cylindric stones perpendiculary raised, which are to be seen in the British islands, were, in pagan times, generally to ascertain the boundaries of districts. In many countries they were dedicated to the worship of Priapus, the fabled son of Venus and Bacchus. This worship spread itself over India, Egypt, Greece, Italy, and most other countries [g]. Some remains of it existed at Ifurnia in the kingdom of Naples in the year 1780, where this deity was addressed by his votaries under the names of S<sup>ts</sup>. Cosmo and Damiano; but they were entirely ignorant of the origin of their devotions. See two letters giving accounts of the ceremonies used in this worship, the one from sir William Hamilton to sir Joseph Banks, bart. and the other from a person residing at Ifurnia, to which are added a discourse thereon by R. P. Knight, Esq. Lond. 1786. 4to.

I will not decide whether the cylindric stones which were erect-

[d] Leviticus, ch. xxvi. v. 1.

[e] Martin's Hist. of the Western Isles, p. 88.

[f] Genesis, ch. xxxi. v. 45.

[g] Sir George Staunton observes that he doth not find any traces of this worship amongst the Chinese. V. Embassy to China, p.

ed in these islands were dedicated to this deity, but the Celtæ who fettled here in very early times acknowledged him, as did their successors the Romans, before the introduction of christianity; and therefore it is probable he might have been classed by our pagan ancestors amongst their idols. The Priapeid deity preserved at Hilton in Staffordshire, vulgarly called *Jack of Hilton*, of which Dr. Plot has given an account, accompanied with an engraving, seems to warrant this conjecture [h]; however, it is certain that the professors of the religion of Bramha in Asia, at this day exhibit the  $\Phi\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  as the symbol of the vivifying spirit, on the boundaries of districts, on the highways, in their temples, choultries, oratories, and other places, by them held sacred. This symbol is also used by the ladies on their rings and bracelets, and is pendent to their necklaces, in the same manner as they wear crucifixes on the continent; and such is the force of education, opinion, and custom, that no improper ideas are annexed to the display thereof. Although such symbols are very properly rejected by christians, the philosopher may remark, that evil is only in the mind, and attaches to the ideas affixed to particular words or symbols: he may say with Horace

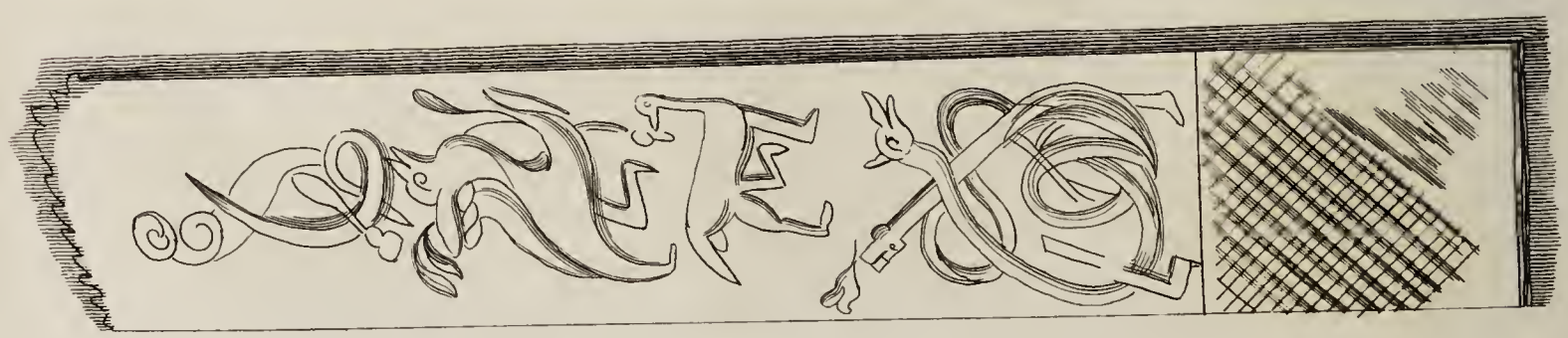
*Et quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non.*

“ [h] Jack of Hilton is a little hollow image of brass about twelve inches high, kneeling upon his left knee, and holding his right hand on his head, and his left hand upon pego or his veretrum erected, having a little hole in the place of the mouth about the bigness of a great pin's head, and another in the back, about two thirds of an inch diameter, at which last hole it is filled with water, it holding about four pints and a quarter, which when set to a strong fire evaporates in the same manner as in an *Æolipile*, and vents itself at the smaller hole at the mouth in a constant blast, blowing the fire so strongly that it is very audible, and makes a sensible impression on that part of the fire where the blast lights, as I found by experience, May 26, 1680.” See the account given of the whimsical services done by the lord of Effington to the lord of Hilton, as given by Dr. Plot in his History of Staffordshire, p. 433, where the functions of this Jack of Hilton are related. See a figure of the image in Plate XXXIII, at p. 404. A similar image found in digging the basin of the canal at Basingstoke was lately presented to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Edmund Fry.



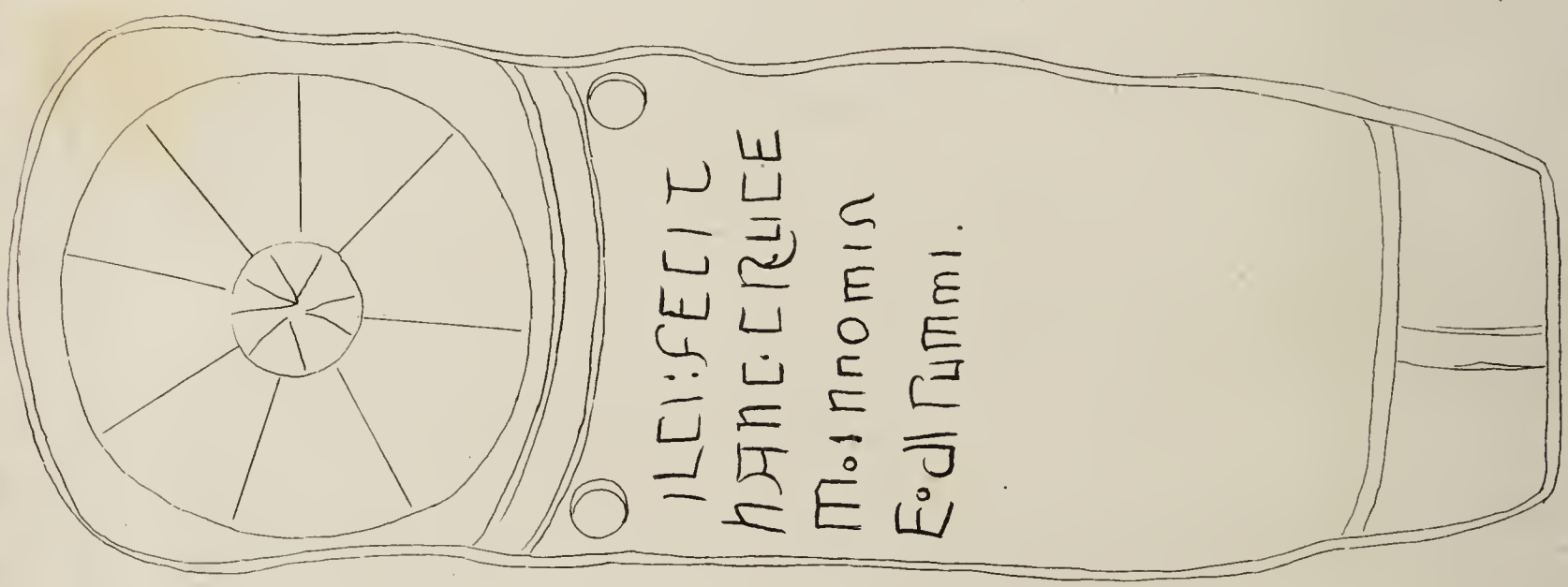


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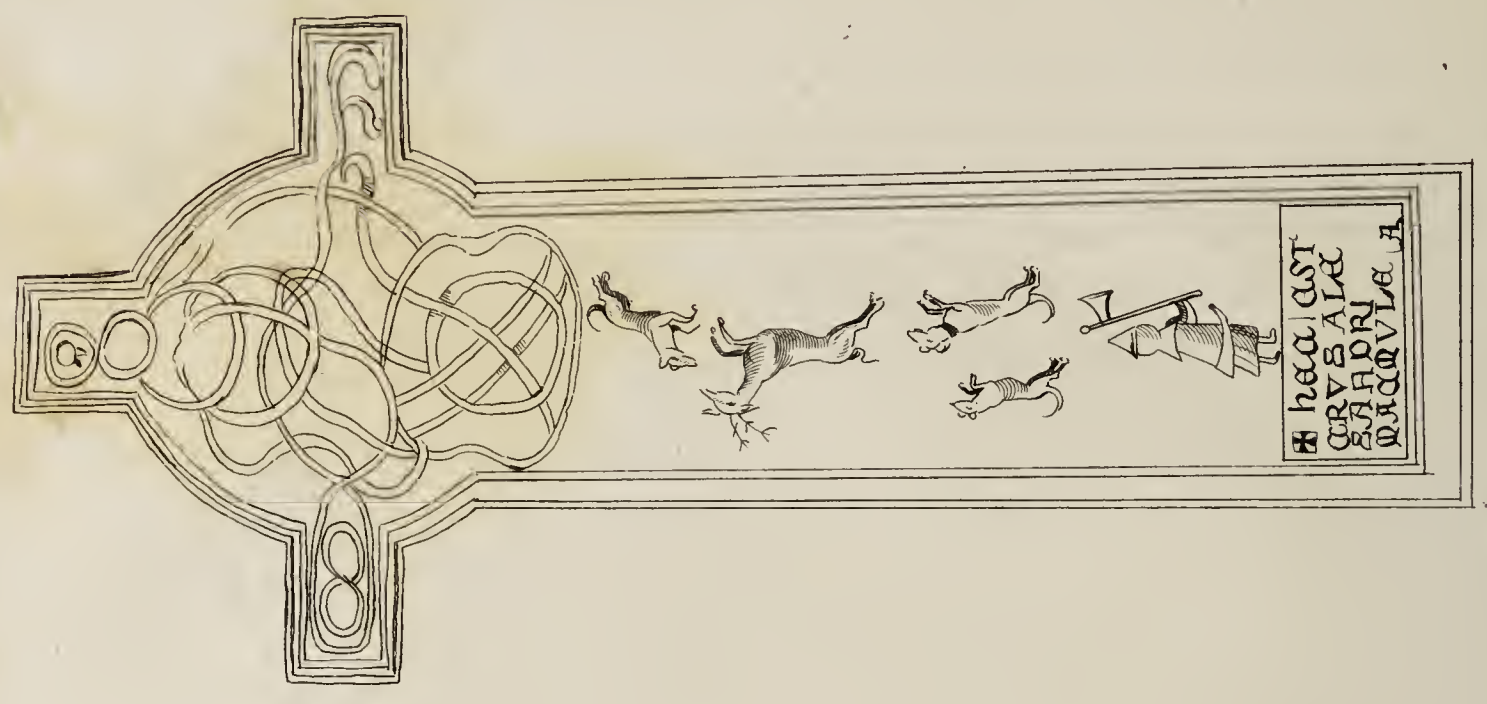
On the S. Side of Cheyn Maenys.

2



A Foot Bridge on the bigg-way, by Margam-house Pembroke-shire.

3



The Cross of Kilavoir in Argyleshire.



Many erect stones, ornamented with hieroglyphic figures, are of pagan origin, as that on the side of Clwyn Macnos, or Clon Macnois, in Ireland [i]; as are some of those adorned with knots, flowers, and other devices, which are commonly called Danish. After the introduction of christianity some of these *termini* or boundary stones had representations of Christ's crucifixion cut on them, which was considered as removing them from the service of the devil, and afterwards stones which had been erected in the times of paganism obtained the name of *crosses*, although they had not any resemblance of Christ's crucifixion cut on them.

This ancient practice of consecrating pagan antiquities to religious purposes has been continued to modern times; several of the popes dedicated many of the most valuable works of art to christian saints. Pope Sixtus the fifth purified the Antonine column, and consecrated it to St. Paul the apostle, whose statue in brass, of a colossal size, he placed on the top [k]. This pope also consecrated the Trajan pillar, and dedicated it to St. Peter, placing on the top a colossal statue of that apostle in brass [l]. Pope Paul the fifth removed a column from the Temple of Peace, whose shaft is forty-eight feet high, and erected it before the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, and placed on its summit a brazen statue of the blessed virgin [m]. Succeeding popes followed these examples, and dedi-

[i] See Pl. XVII. fig. 1.

[k] Sixtus V. Pont. Max:  
Cruci invictæ.  
Obeliscum Vaticanum:  
ab impura Superstitione  
expiatum, justius  
et felicius consecravit  
Anno 1586. Pontif. 2.

[l] Sixtus V. Pont. Max.  
Obeliscum Vaticanum  
Diis Gentium  
impio cultu dicatum  
Ad Apostolorum limina  
operoso labore transtulit  
Anno 1586.

[m] See Lumisden's Antiquities of Rome, London, 1797, 4to. p. 347, 387; et alibi.

cated

cated several columns, pillars, and obelisks, to different apostles and saints, as may be seen in Piranesi, and other writers on the Antiquities of Rome.

Many instances might be given of crosses having been placed as marks for the boundaries of districts, which remain at this day; but these are so numerous, that it is necessary to mention only a few. Formerly a pillar stood at High-Cross, at the crossing of the two Roman roads, the Watling-Street and the Foss, where was the station of the Bennones, near the once famous city of the Romans, called Clay-Chester, now Claybrooke, in Leicestershire, which separates the county from that of Warwick [n]. The stone at Frisby, called *Stump-Cross*, is a boundary stone between that village and Ashfordby in the county of Leicester. There is another stone likewise called *Stump-Cross* on the estate of my friend Charles Townley, of Townley, Esq. which stands on the summit of a high hill within the township of Cliverger, in the parish of Whalley, and county of Lancaster; it is at present about five feet high. Many of these stones were demolished by the christians, when they supposed them to have been dedicated to idolatrous purposes, and their ancient names were soon forgotten, which may be the reason why so many broken crosses are called *Stump-Crosses*. The shire stone upon the mountain called *Wrynose*, at the head of the river Dudding in Cumberland, divides that county from Westmoreland [o]. The inscription on the boundary stone of Croyland manifests the purpose for which it was erected [p].

“ Aio hanc Petram  
Guthlacus habet sibi metam.”

[n] Vide Dugdale's War, p. 72.      [o] Hutchinon's Cumberland, Vol. I. p. 43.

[p] See Dissertations upon this Stone by Governour Pownall, and Mr. Pegge, in the Archaeologia, Vol. III. p. 96, and Vol. V. p. 101.

There



There is a famous stone cross near Lundoris in Fifeshire, which Camden says was placed as a boundary between the districts of Fife and Strathern, with old barbarous verses upon it; it was also a place of sanctuary [q].

Stone pillars or crosses, as they were called, were erected on various occasions, as to record the memory of any remarkable event; near the place where a battle had been fought, or over the persons slain therein.

Some remarkable stone pillars are to be seen at Aberlemni in the county of Angus, said to have been erected in memory of victories gained over the Danes; these are engraven in Mr. Pennant's *Tour in Scotland* 1772, p. 106, 204. In the grounds at Belmont, a seat of the Hon. Stuart Mackenzie near Dundee, is a lofty erect stone, said to have been raised over young Siward, son of the earl of Northumberland, who was slain in a battle with the usurper Macbeth in 1055 or 1056. There was a cross called Neville's Cross near Durham, erected to perpetuate the victory over David Bruce, king of Scotland, where that king was taken prisoner on the 17th of October 1346. In 1589 this monument was broken down in the night, but it is described by Mr. Gough in his edition of Camden, Vol. I. p. 120. A cross was erected at Blore Heath in Staffordshire after a bloody battle there in 1459, where lord Audley, who commanded on the side of the house of Lancaster, was defeated and slain. This monument being decayed was repaired in 1765.

Crosses were frequently placed on the spot where any singular instance of God's mercy had been shewn, or where a person had been murdered by robbers, or had met with any violent death. They were also erected where the corpse of any great person rested

[q] Camden's *Britannia*, Vol. II. p. 1236.

as it was carried to be buried [r]; and very often in church-yards to remind the people of the benefits vouchsafed to us by the cross of Christ; and in early times, at most places of public concourse, or at the meeting of three or four roads or highways. At those crosses the corpse in carrying to church was set down, that all the people attending might pray for the soul of the departed. It was customary for mendicants to station themselves at crosses for the purpose of soliciting alms for Christ's sake; hence they say, in the north of England, when a person is urgent and vehement, "He begged like a cripple at a cross."

Penances were oftentimes finished at crosses, which concluded with weeping, and the usual marks of contrition. Near the town of Stafford stood a cross called *Weeping-Cross*, from its being a place designated for the expiation of penances.

It will be superfluous to enumerate more instances of crosses erected for all the purposes above mentioned, as it may be presumed they are familiar to many of the Members of this Society.

There are a great number of sepulchral crosses both in Great Britain and Ireland, which were erected soon after prayers for the dead came into use. In those times it was not uncommon for persons to desire that crosses might be erected at the places of their interment to put devout people in mind to pray for their souls. When these memorials were set up by persons in their life time, there was generally inscribed on them *posuit*, or *poni curavit*; but most commonly it was done either by the command or at the desire of the person departed, when by their command or order the word *jussit* was made use of, when at the desire *rogavit*. Mr. Borlace [s] has

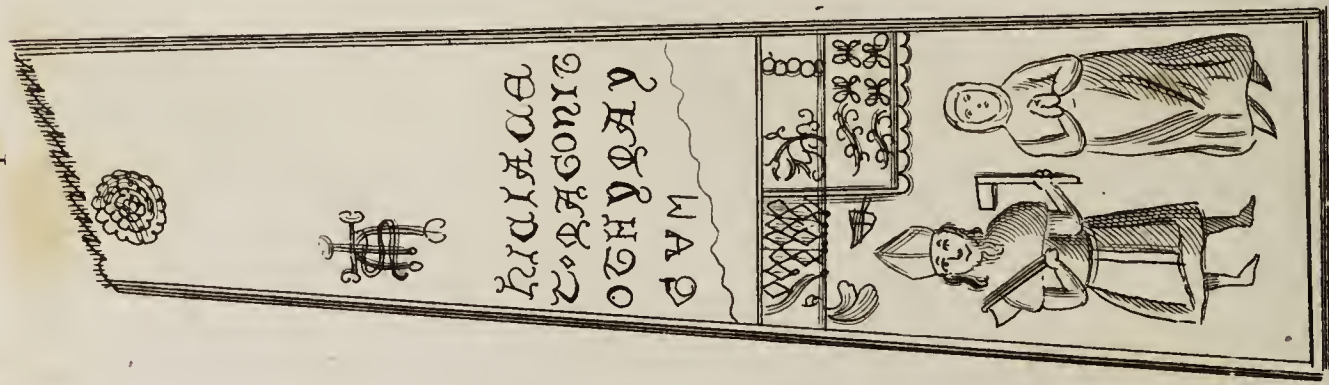
[r] See an account of those erected by king Edward the 1st for his queen Eleanor in the *Monumenta Vetusta*, published by this Society, Vol. III. Plates XII. to XVII. inclusive.

[s] History of Cornwall, Chap. XII. p. 391.





4



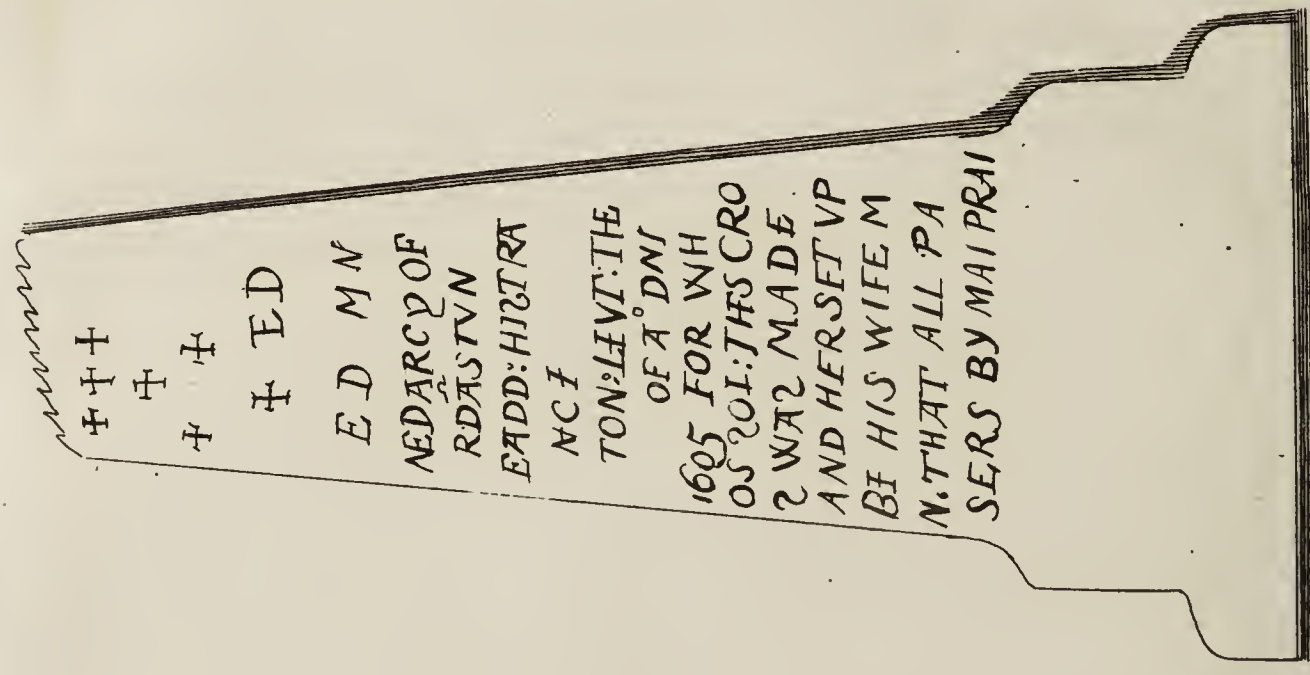
At the Abbey in Slego.

5



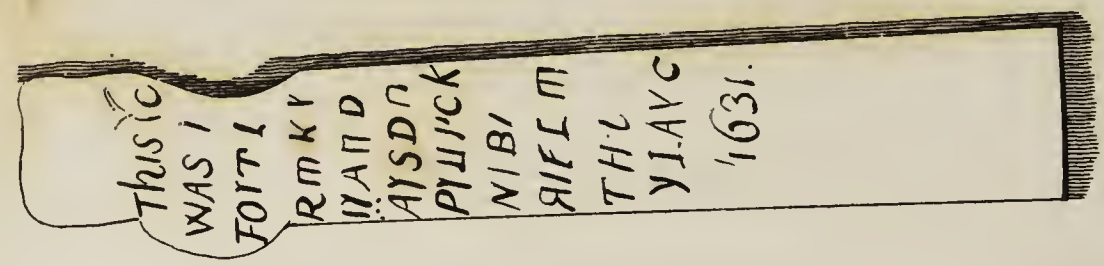
At the Abbey in Slego.

6



Near Con Dro in the Province of Leinster.

7



Near Ballinchester in the County of West Meath.



given accounts and engravings of several sepulchral crosses which were erected in early times; that at St. Clements near Truro in Cornwall, which he supposes to be Roman-British, the inscription being in Roman capitals, and that the figure of the cross cut on the top of the stone is of later date than the inscription. A mile from Castle Dor is a broken cross, which is supposed to be of the sixth or seventh century. In the parish of Madern near Lanyon is a sepulchral cross nine feet ten inches long. Mr. Borlace supposes that this cross was inscribed before the middle of the sixth century. He also describes several sepulchral crosses in Cornwall as late as the ninth century. There is a curious stone-cross now thrown down, which serves as a foot-bridge near Margam in Pembrokehire, with the following inscription, which I take to be as old as the latter end of the ninth century. "*Ilci fecit hanc Crucem in Nomine D Summi [t]*". Sepulchral crosses continued to be erected in the north of Scotland and in Ireland till the last century. There is a curious one at Kilavoir in Argyleshire, with this inscription "*Hec est Crux Alesandri Mac Mule,*" and on the opposite side is a representation of Christ crucified [*u*]. At the abbey of Sligo are two sepulchral crosses of the sixteenth century [*x*]. Near Oon Dw in the province of Leinster in Ireland is a cross of freestone four feet six inches high, erected in 1605, and another in 1631, as appears by their inscriptions [*y*].

[*t*] See Pl. XVII. fig. 2.

[*u*] See Pl. XVII. fig. 3.

[*x*] See Pl. XVIII. fig. 1, 2.

[*y*] See Pl. XVIII. fig. 3, 4.

## S E C T. II.

*On Crucifixes.*

AFTER what has been said concerning crosses and stone pillars in the open air, some observations on crucifixes may be proper. In former times crucifixes were set up in churches to recognise our Lord's passion. The place appropriated for this purpose was called the Rood Loft. Portable crosses or crucifixes were used by our ancestors on solemn occasions; many of these were adorned with holy relicks and precious stones of great value. They were carried by princes in their pilgrimages and processions to the shrines of saints, and with their armies when they went on expeditions. See several particulars concerning the cross of *Gneyth* or *Neyth* in the *Liber Garderobæ Edwardi Primi*, published by this Society 1787, p. 32 and 42, and Preface, p. 30; and in the *Glossary Voce Gneyth*. The famous cross which was preserved at Holy-Rood House in Edinburgh was carried by king David the second in his expedition to England, where it was taken with the king, and many of his bishops and nobles, at Nevill's Cross near Durham, Oct. 27, 1346, by the forces commanded by Ralph lord Nevill and John Nevill his son, and was offered by them at the shrine of St. Cuthbert, with the images of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Apostle, of pure and massy gold. The foot or pedestal of this cross was garnished with rich and large diamonds, precious rubies, fine turquoises, and costly emeralds. This offering was placed on the pillar near St. Cuthbert in the south aisle of Durham cathedral [z].

[z] There is a miraculous relation concerning this famous cross in Richard Hay's *Defence of Elizabeth More*, wife of Robert the II<sup>nd</sup> king of Scotland. Edinburgh, 4to. 1723, p. 124. See also sir D. Dalrymple's *Annals of Scotland*, sub anno 1346.



Crosses and crucifixes were so much venerated by those who professed christianity that they were possessed by every person from the prince to the peasant, and these were more or less ornamented according to the wealth of the possessors. We find them in cathedrals, churches, chapels, and oratories, and they even made a part of the dress of all ranks of people, who wore them not only as symbols of their profession of faith, but as ornaments to their persons. We also find this badge of christianity on armour, weapons, and household furniture; the private chapels and oratories of princes and nobles were furnished with crucifixes, many of which were richly ornamented with pearls and precious stones. A few extracts from the inventory of the jewels, plate, &c. of king Edward the VIth [a], may not be improper.

#### CRUCIFIXES OF GOLD.

“Item, one crucifix of golde standing upon five pillars with foure pynacles and four perles, the base sett with an emerade, a saphire, twoo dyamountes sett in twoo troches with *iiij* perles in a troche, and in the same base *xij* troches or tustes, whereof *vij* be sett with counterfett stones or glasses, and *xlvj* garnishing perles, *vi* white hartes upon the base with crownes, twoo hoole cheynes, and twoo peces of chaynes of golde aboute theyr neckes, and *lxxvj* small perles upon the harts heddes, and amonges the hartes *v* bushes and *xxj* small perles, and an image of our Ladie of Pitte sett with a light saphire; *viiij* stones or glasses of no value, and *xxxij* small perles and an image of St. John Baptist sett with a light saphire; *jx* glasses or stones, and *xxxij* perles within the pinacles, and within and upon the pynacles *xxxij* small perles; twoo angells holding a ballace garnished with *xvj* small perles, and all upon bothe sides, and upon

[a] The original is now preserved in the Library of this Society.

the foote of the croffe Mary and John fett with *xlij* small perles, and uppon the croffe a crucefix fett with twoo ballaces, twoo faphires, and <sup>xx</sup>*iiijxviij* fmale perles, weying *lxxiiij* oz.

Item, one croffe of golde called Jerl<sup>m</sup>. garnished with *iiij* greate ballaces, and one garnett ftanding in colletts of golde, having uppon either fyde the crucefix a theefe hanging enameled white, the foote of the croffe being of filver gilte, garnished with certeyne fmale images of golde, garnished with ftone and perle. The crucefix, the twoo theeves with their croffes and garnifhing, with ftone and perle poiz *lxxv* ounces. The fote being filver and gilte, and parte golde, weying *Cclxxxiiij* oz. all poiz 359 oz."

### B O O K S.

The covers of bookes were richly ornamented with crucifixes, jewels, and precious ftones. Many instances might be given, a few may be fufficient. The famous Textus Sancti Cuthberti, which was written in the feventh century, and was formerly kept at Durham, which is now preferved in the Cottonian Library, Nero D. IV. was adorned in the Saxon times by Bilfrith, a monk of Durham, with a filver cover gilt and precious ftones. Simeon Dunelmensis, or Turgot as he is frequently called, tells us that the cover of this fine MS. was ornamented *forinfecis Gemmis et Auro*.

"A booke of Gofpelles garnished and wrought with antique worke of filver and gilte with an image of the crucefix with Mary and John, poiz together *CCCxxij* oz.

*In the Secret Jewel Houfe in the Tower.* A booke of golde enameled, clafped with a rubie, having on th'one fyde a croffe of dyamounds, and *vj* other dyamounds, and th'other fyde a flower de luce of dyamounds, and *iiij* rubies with a pendaunte of white faphyres and the armes of England. Which booke is garnished with



small emeraldes and rubies hanging to a cheyne pillar fashion sett with *xv* knottes, everie one conteyning *iiij* rubies (one lacking.)”

In the inventory of queen Elizabeth’s jewels, plate, &c. made in the sixteenth year of her reign [*b*], several ornamental books are described, amongst others, “ Oone Gospell booke covered with tiffue and garnished on th’onside with the crucifix and the Queenes badges of silver guilt, poiz with wodde, leaves, and all *Cxij* oz.

Item, oone booke of the gospels plated with silver, and guilt upon bourdes with the image of the crucifix ther upon, and *iiij* evangelists in *iiij* places with two greate claspes of silver and guilt, poiz *lij* oz. *gr.* and weing with the bourdes, leaves, binding, and the covering of red vellat *Cxxix* oz.”

It may not be improper to conclude this memoir with a few observations on the sign of the cross.

All religious societies, whether true or false, have distinguished themselves by outward signs and ceremonies; hence St. Augustine observes, that men never could be united or maintained in the observance of any religion without the use of certain signs or symbols. In the Mosaic dispensation, God was pleased to multiply outward rites, in order to withdraw a gross people from superstition and idolatry, and to conduct them to the paths of truth and virtue, by the impressions of sense. So in the new law, Christ instituted his holy sacraments, and authorised by his own practice, outward religious rites; amongst these, from the infancy of the church, the use of the sign of the cross has ever been held sacred by the professors of the christian religion, both in Asia and in the Greek church, and by several denominations of protestants; particularly by those

[*b*] *P.* 22. The original is in my library; every page is signed by lord treasurer Burghley; sir Ralph Sadler, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the exchequer; and contains an account of all the queen’s jewels, plate, &c. in the custody of John Astely, Esq. master and treasurer of her majesty’s jewels and plate.

of the church of England as by law established, it is used in baptism to this day.

Much has been written by the fathers of the church on the devout use of this symbol of christianity; they relate many extraordinary particulars concerning this sign, which demonstrates the great veneration they had for it [c].

The sign of the cross is said by the writers on this subject to be the distinguishing badge of christians; the martyrs declared their faith by it before their persecutors; and when a christian was asked his religion, it was usual for him to answer by this sign, rather than by words. In short, it was universally held by the professors of christianity to be the most sacred of all symbols. By this they signified their assent to their decrees, laws, and ordinances; and in conveyances of property from the seventh to the end of the eleventh century, and occasionally to the middle of the twelfth, it was stiled “*Signum sanctissime crucis, vexillum sanctissime crucis, &c.*”

Our Saxon ancestors invariably confirmed their charters, and most solemn acts, by the sign of the cross, not only because many of them could not write, but because this sign was deemed the most sacred of all others; and that an act or deed confirmed by it could not be infringed, without incurring the highest displeasure of the Divine Being; they even supposed that an instrument, confirmed by the sign of the cross, was binding on all mankind; for the Saxons in their charters generally thundered the most dreadful anathemas against those who should infringe them; even the witnesses used it as the most sacred asseveration which they could give of the truth of their testimony.

[c] See a Work on the Moveable Feasts, Fasts, and other Annual Observances of the Catholic Church, by the late Rev. Alban Butler, President of the English College at St. Omer's, wherein much reading is displayed on this subject. London, 1774, 8vo. p. 372.



XXI. *Observations on Mr. Townley's Antique Bronze Helmet, found at Ribchester in Lancashire. By the Rev. Stephen Weston, B. D. F. A. S. In a Letter addressed to the President.*

Read Feb. 1, 1798.

MY LORD,

I BEG leave to request the attention of the Society whilst I hazard a conjecture upon the nature of the personage intended to be represented on the beautiful and singularly curious relic of ancient art, exhibited by Mr. Townly from his rich and unparalleled collection of Greek and Roman antiquities.

It seems then to me, my lord, that these exquisite remains of antique sculpture found at Ribchester, the [a] Coccium of Antoninus's Itinerary, are of the best Roman work on the Greek model, and of the times of the Antonines; and that the head-piece, though found in the same heap of sand with the vizor, does not properly belong to the mask, which was itself antique, when the cap or petasus was fitted to it. This covering indeed is totally unworthy of its place, being evidently of another age, somewhere between Severus and Constantius Chlorus; and its position here is like that of an Austin Friar, on the Maison Carrée, or the hat of harlequin on the head of Augustus [b]. With this cap I have nothing to do at present. The piece of antiquity now before us is what I conceive

[a] Anton. Itiner. p. 482, 4to. 1735. Amsterdam.

[b] Voltaire.

to have been used as a mask, or vizor, at some sacred festival, on a day of procession, when the rites and orgies of the divinity represented by it were celebrated. Masks were worn on the stage, at feasts, at funerals, in battle, and in pageants. In Callixenus's account of the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus [c] in honour of Bacchus at Alexandria, the statue of the god was adorned with masks, chaplets, and mitres. The mitre [d], which is a female attire, points out the twofold nature of Bacchus, who is called διφύης and δίμορφος, partaking of both sexes, the delicacy of the female, and the courage of the male. Aristides [f] calls him male and female, and Lucian [g] dresses him like a woman in his Indian expedition. The mitre we know from Virgil passed under the chin, and we learn from Nonnus [h] that Ampelus adorned himself with a mitred fillet in imitation of Bacchus, terminating in snakes-heads, and twisted with braids of serpents. According to [i] Macrobius Bacchus first invented triumphs, primus fuit auctor triumphi, for which on his statues [k] he wore a royal diadem.

When we come to apply these observations to the mask under our inspection, we shall recognise the double character of the figure, and see the personage in his twofold nature, in one point of view passing for a female, in another for the head of a male. The head-band which goes under the chin is the ἀνδρεια μίτρας of the Anthologia, and corresponds minutely with the bandeau of Ampelus, which he assumed on conquering Bacchus.

[c] Athenæus, p. 198. edit. 1658.

[d] Sophocles *Æd. Tyr.* V. CCXII. Propert. 4. 2. 31.

[e] Orphei Hymn, p. 222. ed. Gesner, 1764.

[f] Aristid. Orab. in Bacchum.

[g] Lucian, V. III. p. 76. 4to.

[h] Nonni Dionysius, lib. I. V. XVIII. p. 193. 4to. 1569.

[i] Macrobi. l. I. XIX.

[k] Florent. Museum, Pl. L. Vol. III.



The female figures with wings on each side of the center of the diadem represent most probably victories. The figure that terminates in the divided tail of a fish is a well known metamorphose in Ovid, where Bacchus changed those who would have offered violence to him on his voyage to Naxos into sea-monsters, of which the poet sings,

[1] *Falcata novissima cauda est,*

*Qualia dividuæ sinuantur cornua lunæ.*

Compare this description with the figure on the diadem, and you will find it exact. The head too in a statue of the Museum Florentinum has, like this, all the softness of a female, which Ovid well explains:

‘*Cum dubitet Natura marem, faceretne puellam,*

*Factus es o pulcher pæne puella puer.*’

The ear in the mask has been brought forwards to give perhaps an idea of the horns of the god which he wears in the poets, and on medals, and which were placed, like those of Jupiter Ammon, quite on the side of the head, just as they are to be seen on an unpublished coin of the island of Tenos, with the head of Bacchus on one side, and a Thyrsus encircled with ivy on the reverse, and the letters TH under it. A drawing of this inedited coin, which is not in Dr. Hunter's collection, is here annexed [m].

The character which I have given to this vizor of exquisite workmanship in Corinthian brass, may be still further illustrated by an antique coin [n] of the island of Thafus, of which a drawing accompanies this dissertation [o], where by inspection only it will be understood what degree of credit is to be given to an opinion, on the testimony

[1] Ovid *Metam.* l. iii. v. 681. Nonnus *E. K.* p. 631. v. x.

[m] See Vignette, next page.

[n] Dr. Combe's *Catalogue of Hunter's Coins*, and Gesner's *Note on V. XXIV.* *Orph. Argon.* 8vo. 1764. Lipsiæ.

[o] See Vignette, next page.

of antiquity itself, in a production of a different sort, but representing the same thing. The coin here exhibited shews the head of Bacchus adorned in all points like the vizor with a tutulus, or tower encircled with ivy, which has suggested an idea that the mask was meant for Cybele, or Isis, or even Medusa, with neither of which it can be made to accord so perfectly as with the Thasian Bacchus.

These, my lord, are the remarks which have occurred to me on examining this fine relic of ancient workmanship; I shall be flattered if they afford any satisfaction to the possessor of so much elegance and the Society, or tend to throw any light on the matter, so that a more complete elucidation of the subject may be obtained.

I have the honour, my lord,

to be your lordship's most obedient Servant,

*Edward Street, Portman Square,*

*Feb. 18, 1798.*

STEPHEN WESTON.





XXII. *Observations on the Griggirrys of the Mandingos.*  
*In a Letter from Elliott Arthy, Esq. to William*  
*Blizard, Esq. F. R. S. and F. A. S.*

Read Nov. 30, 1797.

SIR,

**I** SEND you inclosed a small specimen of African manuscript, which I obtained from one of the natives of that quarter of the globe, on a voyage into Sierra Leone River, in the year 1795. Pieces of manuscript of a similar kind are in general use among a tribe of Africans, called Mandingos, who inhabit a part of Africa, situated about one hundred miles to the northward of the British colony at Sierra Leone. They are commonly folded into a small compass, and inclosed in little leathern cases, to which are fixed leathern thongs, by means of which they are hung, and constantly worn, round either the necks or waists of the Mandingos.

These pieces of manuscript are called Griggirrys by the Mandingos, and the use they are put to by those people, affords a striking instance how inseparable ignorance and superstition are in the human mind. A Mandingo man possessing one of them conceives himself secure from all harm whatever; not only from all kinds of diseases and mishaps, but even from being carried captive from his country, and shielded, moreover, from the deathful force of a bullet when shot from a musquet.

On the voyage I obtained the inclosed Griggirry. I belonged to a slave-ship. At our departure from Africa a very violent spirit of insurrection prevailed among the slaves, many of whom came from the Mandingo country and neighbouring parts, which rendered it necessary for us to mount a very strong guard over them, and to make a great display of fire-arms; notwithstanding which, they were but little awed or intimidated, and expressed great confidence in their Griggirrys defending them from white men's balls; nor did they entirely relinquish their hopes of gaining the mastery over us, or finally acknowledge that our Griggirry was better than theirs, until we arrived in the West Indies. Naked and unarmed as they were, their Griggirrys would, I conceive, have inspired them with sufficient courage to have contended with us for their freedom, could they by any means have disengaged themselves from their irons.

There are certain men among the Mandingos called Griggirry men, who are looked up to by the multitude with religious reverence, and who are thought to be endowed with supernatural understandings and talents. These Griggirry men, I am told, compose, and dispose of, the Griggirrys to the people at large, and thereby no doubt arrogate to themselves great power, riches, and fame. The number of these Griggirry men, compared with the people at large, I should suppose to be very trifling, for on board the ship I mentioned there were two hundred men slaves, among whom there was only one that could read, or seemed in the least to understand the sense of, the inclosed Griggirry; and unluckily, through our inability to converse with each other, I could not learn either its signification or origin.

There appears to me a very striking analogy between the Griggirry of the Mandingos, and the Talisman of the Arabians, which we have so much related of, in the Arabian Nights Entertainments;  
and



and I conceive it to be very probable that the Mandingos did originally receive, and may perhaps even at this time obtain, and be taught to compose, their Griggirrys by the Arabians, with whom, though very far distant, they are said to have frequent intercourse. The truth of my conjecture, however, rests with your comparing the inclosed piece of manuscript with some known Arabic characters, or shewing it to some person conversant in the Arabic language [a].

Hoping the inclosed, and what I have said respecting it, will prove deserving your notice, I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your very respectful and most humble Servant,

ELLIOT ARTHY.

*London, Nov. 29, 1797.*

[a] Dr. Ruffel says that this paper is written in the Arabic hand used in Barbary, and contains the name of God frequently repeated, with the addition of certain unintelligible characters. Charms of this kind are much used by the Mahometans. See Ruffel's Hist. of Aleppo, Vol. II. p. 103. Mr. Park, in his Travels into the interior part of Africa, mentions "certain charms or amulets called *Sapphies*, which the negroes constantly wear about them. These Sapphies," he adds, "are prayers, or rather sentences from the Koran, which the Mahomedan priests write, and sell to the simple natives, who consider them to possess very extraordinary virtues." p. 38. S. L.

XXIII. *Dissertation on the Lives and Works of several Anglo-Norman Poets of the Thirteenth Century. In a Letter from Monsf. De La Rue to John Henniker Major, Esq. M. P. F. R. S. and F. A. S. Translated from the French.*

Read March 29, 1798.

SIR,

I HAVE in several dissertations [*a*] already treated of some of the Anglo-Norman Trouveres [*b*] of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As a pursuit of this kind must of necessity throw great light on the literary history of England in an age of such obscurity, I am convinced that my researches of this nature must be exceedingly welcome to you; and it is with the greatest pleasure that I take the present moment to communicate to you this part of my labours on the poets of the thirteenth century.

[*a*] See Archaeologia, Vol. XII. p. 50, 297.

[*b*] Trouveres, or Troubadours, were the first of Provence poets, who invented the fables, that the ancient minstrels went about singing in the houses of the great. They were also called Troupadours, Trouveours, Trouveurs, and Trompadours, or Trombadours.

These Trombadours were the first French poets; for we ought not to allow this title to the bards, composers of barbarous verses, who made their appearance in the first ages of the French monarchy.

Some think that the Trouveres were those poets who lived in the middle and northern parts of France, as distinguished from those who lived in the south, particularly Provence, who were called Troubadours. Communicated by Mr. Moyfant. I. H. M.



STEPHEN OF LANGTON,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Stephen of Langton, an Englishman by birth, was archbishop of Canterbury in the year 1207, as fully appears by the writers of that prelate's life, as well civil as ecclesiastical, for I do not here consider him other than as an Anglo-Norman poet; and in this point of view he appears to be not destitute of merit. He cannot be denied to have possessed a lively imagination, happy ideas, and language tolerably flowing.

It must be matter of astonishment that the first proof which I shall give of his poetical talents should be taken from his sermons. He has inserted in one of them a stanza of a song which seems dictated by the Graces, and if found in any other situation, it would appear to form a compliment delicately made to some Beauty. I acknowledge that when I first read them, my surprise made me return to the title of the sermon, that I might be sure that I was not mistaken. But no: it truly is in his sermon on the Holy Virgin, that this prelate has placed the following stanza:

Bele Aliz matin lèva  
Sun cors vesti et para,  
enz un verger s'en entra,  
cink fluettes y' truva,  
un chapelet fet en a  
de Rose flurie  
Pur Deu trahez vus en la  
vus ki ne amez mie.

The orator then enforces each particular verse, and applies it mystically to the Holy Virgin. The allegorical turn which he gives to the whole of the above stanza is very happily handled, and the preacher in speaking of his subject, cries out, at frequent intervals, with enthusiasm,

“ Ceste est la Bele Aliz

“ Ceste est la flur, ceste est le lis.

There can be no doubt that the taste for French poetry must have been at that time very general in England, since the metropolitan of the kingdom thought to conciliate to himself more easily the attention of his auditors, by taking this poetic flight; and he must have himself been well persuaded, that it neither violated the rules of rhetoric then received, nor the dignity of his ministry; since he did not think it below him to insert in his discourse a sonnet, which in itself presents no other than ideas entirely of an amorous nature. But we have already seen that, in the preceding century, Guernes de Pont St. Maxence had pronounced in the metropolitan cathedral of Canterbury the life of Thomas a'Becket in French verse [b]; so that the discourse of Stephen of Langton contains nothing unusual; and many other examples of sermons in verse may be found by those who study the history of the Anglo-Norman Poets.

The sermon of Stephen of Langton is found in one of the manuscripts of the Library of the duke of Norfolk, N<sup>o</sup> 292, in which also are two other pieces, which seem to me to be the production of the same poet.

The first is a Theological Drama, in which Truth, Justice, Mercy, and Peace, debate among themselves what ought to be the fate of

[b] *Archaeologia*, Vol. XII.



Adam after his fall. The two first insist on a severe punishment; and the latter solicit indulgence, and forgiveness. The scene is in the presence of God the father; he hears the arguments of the parties; they each set forth their reasons with as much force, as sensibility: the discussion grows warm, and after a dispute conducted with considerable heat, the four sisters, at length, absolutely quarrel. Peace and Mercy retire, and as they go declare that they never will return, until God the Father grant their petitions, and give them his permission: to the first, to propose an accommodation between him and guilty man; and to the second, to add her confirmation. Truth and Justice continue with the Almighty. At length, however, the Eternal being, desirous of re-establishing cordiality between his four daughters, consults his son, on the best mode of conciliation. At this epoch commences the salvation proposed by the incarnation of the word; and the subsequent death of the Saviour brings the four sisters together and reconciles them. Then only, according to the expression of the royal Psalmist, "Mercy and Truth are met together: Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other [c]." It is certainly this passage of the Psalmist, which has furnished the idea of this piece to our poet, and we must allow that he has worked it up with equal taste, and delicacy.

A third piece which I attribute to this author is a Cantic on the Passion of Jesus Christ, in one hundred and twenty-three stanzas, which make more than six hundred verses. The historical details are brought forward in a quick succession, and in a manner as interesting as the subject. But as the author was provided with all the facts, and had nothing left to his care but the versification, there is less imagination, and poetry, in this piece than in the preceding. I shall remark on this poem no fur-

[c] Psalm LXXXV.

ther than that each stanza is of five verses, and that the rhymes are intermixed.

I cannot say whether, or not, Stephen of Langton has left any other pieces of poetry in French verse.

### C H A R D R Y.

Odericus Vitalis asserts that the Norman minstrels in the twelfth century celebrated the lives of saints in French verse [*d*]; and it is worthy of observation, that from those still existing, it is clear the poets set apart these holy poems, for ecclesiastical festivals and sabbaths, and that they kept, for the other days of the week, all their compositions on profane subjects [*e*].

Chardry was one of those poets, who exercised their genius on subjects of devotion, and we have from him the life of St. Josphat, and that of the Seven Sleepers (brethren) in French verse.

In the first, which contains no less than two thousand nine hundred verses, the poet begins by saying to his auditors that he prefers rather to bring them back to virtue by example, than by precept, and then proceeds to state historically the life of his saint. But he finishes his discourse by telling them that he should certainly feel more pleasure in hearing the lives of the knights Rolland and Olivier than that of St. Josphat; and even that he would rather hear a recital of the battle of the Twelve Peers of France than that of the Passion of Jesus Christ. This sneer ascertains, with still greater certainty, that the same minstrels sang our mysteries and devout fables either in the courts of the English barons, or before the people, as they detailed to them the exploits related in the romances of

[*d*] Oder. Vit. apud Duchesne. p. 598.

[*e*] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry.



the Round Table, or other romances of chivalry. In fine, our poet finishes his piece by the following verses, which point out their author :

Ici finist la bone vie  
De Josaphat le duz enfant.  
A ceus qui furent escutant  
Mande Chardri faluz fans fin,  
Et au soir et au matin.

The life of the seven sleeping brethren (and not of St. Dormans, as improperly printed by Mr. Warton) contains more than one thousand eight hundred verses [*f*]. The author begins by telling his audience that he will not address them on the subjects of fables, that he will not treat of those of Tristan, Galeran, Renard, nor of Herfenti. This introduction still more forcibly proves, that the usual occupation of the author was to rehearse these historical romances; and it proves also that he did not write these religious tales till about the middle of the thirteenth century, not long before which time, the different romances which he cites had been already composed. It remains only to add that in the second piece he speaks of himself by the same appellation as in the first.

The two works of Chardry are in the British Museum. Bibl. Cotton Caligula, A. IX.

In the same manuscript is another work, entitled *Le Petit Plet*, containing about one thousand nine hundred verses.

It is a dispute between an old and a young man on the happiness and misery of human life. The author has not disclosed his name, but I am of opinion that this piece can belong only to our poet Chardry. It is copied by the same hand, and, comparing it with

[*f*] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry.

the two foregoing works, to judge by the style and character of the verses, one may easily believe that it is the production of the same author. In short, it is the composition of a minstrel, intended to be recited in the courts of the English barons. At the outset the poet addresses himself to them; but as the dialogue between the two disputants is kept up very well till the conclusion, we are led to think that this work was either spoken, or sung, by two actors. Independently of this piece being the offspring of the imagination only of the poet, it greatly excels the two foregoing; inasmuch as it is more interesting from the lessons of morality and philosophy contained in it; and, as it is the young man, who gives them to the old man, the representation becomes more affecting, and surprisngly fixes the attention.

I know of no other work composed in verse by Chardry; but it is probable that the three above described are not the whole of his productions.

#### WILLIAM OF WADINGTON.

The name of this poet sufficiently announces his origin; and he himself informs us that he was born in England. We find in the Rolls of the 14th year of Henry II. many proprietors of land of the same name in Lincolnshire; and it is by no means improbable that he was descended from this family. This poet was of the order of priests; and, judging from his style, he lived, I believe, about the middle of the thirteenth century.

This work is entitled *Manuel*. It forms a complete treatise on the dogmas, morals, and precepts, of the christian religion. He professes to have translated it into French verse, from a Latin author, whose name he does not mention; but it seems that the original work must have been *Le Floretus*, a Latin poem, by some ascribed



cribed to St. Barnard, by others to a Pope Clement, printed at London in folio 1520, and at Caen in 4to, of the same date [g].

What makes this poem particularly interesting is, that Wadington has not scrupulously adhered to his original; and that under those divisions wherein he treats of morals, he has introduced very curious matter relating to the manners and customs of the English, of his own times. But leaving these observations, however valuable, to the publication of historians, I shall extract only the opinions of this author, as far as they relate to the poetry of his day.

In the first place, he treats of the general taste of the English for romances of knight errantry, for fabulous tales, and songs; and he blames them only, because they employed themselves in the reading of these works on the sabbath. Another kind of poesy, called Rotewange, was much in request among them, and we believe that it consisted of pieces which they sang, and at the same time accompanied themselves on the hurdy-gurdy. But those theatrical pieces called "*Miracles*" were their delight beyond all others; they were of the nature of tragedy, which represented the martyrdom of some saint of the primitive church.

Geoffrey, Abbot of St. Albans, had introduced into England the taste for these theatrical pieces, as early as the beginning of the twelfth century [h]. By Fitz Stephens' account, it continued in force to the end of that century, and the city of London was the place, before all others, famous for this kind of representation [i]. But the evidence of Wadington proves that the interval, till his day, had greatly increased this taste among the English. From what he specifies on the subject of these entertainments, it seems that they were sometimes brought forward in the public places, but most commonly

[g] Leyser Hist. poetarum medii ævi, p. 420.

[h] Math. Paris in vita abbatum sti albani.

[i] Fitz Stephens' Description of London, p. 73.

in burial grounds. They borrowed, as had been usual with Geoffry of St. Albans [k], the ornaments of the church to decorate their theatre. It was always in the afternoon that these “*Miracles*” were represented. Women in particular thronged to them from all quarters; the entertainment was often concluded by dances; sometimes by wrestling, or tilting, a kind of play, which exercised the body, and was much in vogue among the English.

Our poet lays great blame on these entertainments, these dances, and recreations; more particularly when they engrossed a part of the sabbath. There is good reason to believe that the clerks, who were the authors, were also the performers of these theatrical pieces. To embellish their works, they gave ample scope to their imaginations, and the more marvellous their production, the more certainty of applause. Wadington, nevertheless, forbids his readers to give faith to these prodigies, falsely attributed to the saints, and considers the authors of these theatrical pieces as no other than madmen. But that which principally raises his indignation is the use of disguises, with which they were able to represent the whole number of the different characters of their pieces. It does not clearly appear in what they consisted. He says positively that they disguised their faces; but whether this was by masks, or merely by colours, or, in short, by putting on the form of voracious animals, to which the martyrs were often exposed, is a subject on which the author says nothing sufficiently clear for us to form a precise, and determinate opinion.

As to the minstrels or jongleurs [l] it seems that at his time they  
were

[k] Math. Paris loco citato.

[l] Jongleurs. It is a word now synonymous to bateleur (a juggler) who plays sleight of hand. Formerly this name was given to a kind of minstrel, who went about singing small poems in the houses of the great, and particularly in the court of the  
earls



were very numerous. But if he does not forgive them for composing these dramas, in which were represented to the people the courage and patience of the martyrs (in a manner it must be allowed which violated historical truth, but which, however, neither hurt the morals, nor the fundamental points of religion); it may be easily imagined with what ardour our poet would decry the minstrels, who, by the recital of romantic and amorous adventures, brought prematurely forward, and roused the passions. With this moral object, he declares to them that he knows of no employment so dangerous, and even prefers a life supported by begging.

But while he decries the "*Miracles*," because they were composed

earls of Flanders; but this name was more usually given to a kind of buffoon, or juggler, who had succeeded to the historians. The greatest part of them were of Provence; they understood music, and played on instruments. They connected themselves with the Troubadours, or Trouveurs, poets in vogue since the eleventh century, whose productions they sang and performed. By these means they got admittance into the palaces of kings and princes, by whom they were rewarded with magnificent presents. They were also called Jugleurs, Jongleurs, and the women Jongleresses.

At the end of the fourteenth century the Trouveurs and the Jongleurs separated themselves into two bodies; the one under the name of Jongleurs joined singing and the recitation of verses to the sound of instruments; the others under the name of Joueurs (*Joculatores*) amused the people by sleight of hand, &c. &c. like the jugglers of this day. About the time of Philip Auguste the Jongleurs came to disgrace because poetry was little in esteem at that time, more particularly after the death of the count of Champagne, who composed so many amorous verses for queen Blanche. The name of Jongleurs became so contemptible that it was applied only to jugglers, and at length, as they repeated nothing but buffoonery, the term *Jonglerie* signified *falsehood*, and they used the words *jongler* and *jaugler* to signify to *lie*. It is for this reason that Philip Auguste drove them from his dominions. They, however, reappeared, and were tolerated in the following part of the reigns of this prince and of the kings that succeeded him. They all took the name of Jongleurs, as the most ancient. They lived all in one street, then called *Rue des Jongleurs*, now *de S. Julien des Menestriers*; that is, *street of the Jugglers*, now of *St. Julien of the Minstrels*. Communicated by Mr. Moyfant. I. H. M.

of suppositious or altered facts, Wadington himself fills his work with a great number of "*Contes devots*," which cannot boast of more authenticity than the "*Miracles*" invented by his rivals. But he had found these fables in other authors. Criticism had not in those times promulged her laws; by which truth may be distinguished from falsehood; while it required judgment and information of an ordinary kind only, to observe that the "miracles," represented at that day, were pieces composed by modern authors; and it was easy to distinguish what was the produce of their own invention, or alteration, by comparing them with the lives of the saints then in use.

This work of William of Wadington is of near six thousand verses. It is to be found in the manuscripts of the duke of Norfolk, in the library of the Royal Society, and in the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 20 B. XIV. et Bib. Harleian, N<sup>o</sup> 273, 4657, and 4974. It is at the conclusion of the two last manuscripts, that the poet speaks of himself by name, and enters into all the details of his history, which are not to be found in the two first mentioned copies. The author says, that he should not have undertaken to translate his work into French verse, but to make it more palatable to a nation, that pursued with avidity every thing written in that language, and to the end, continues he, that it might be understood, as well by the great, as the lower class of people, which is of itself sufficient to shew, how much the stile of Romance was then generally received in England. In short, he asks forgiveness from his reader for the faults, which he might have been guilty of, whether against the language, or rhyme; because, being an Englishman by birth, it might easily happen that some errors, as to one or the other, might have escaped him.



ANONYMOUS CONTINUATOR OF THE  
BRUTUS OF ROBERT WACE.

Robert Wace in 1155 turned the Brutus, composed in Latin by Geoffrey of Monmouth, into French verse. The manuscript of the Cottonian Library Vitellius A. X. comprises this translation, with a supplement in like manner, in French verse, by an anonymous author [m].

That part of the work by Robert Wace finishes, like his original, at the death of king Cadwallader, at the end of the seventh century; but that of his continuator, beginning at this epocha, goes down to the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry the III. d.; not however that he gives us any account of this monarch; he does no more than name him. But he speaks of the death of the princess Eleanora, daughter of the duke of Bretagne, and sister of the unfortunate Arthur, assassinated by king John his uncle; and as she was interred in the priory of St. James at Bristol in 1241, it is at, or about this time that we ought to fix the composition of this supplement in French verse.

If the poet, the author of this work, has not transmitted to us his own name, he has however pointed out that of the place, where it was written, and where probably he was born. He says that he translated his work at Amesbury in Wiltshire. But I should be strongly inclined, whether by extraction he was Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman, to suppose him to have been a descendant of one of those families, who were deprived of their estates at the time of the conquest. The energetic manner in which he bitterly inveighs against

[m] *Archaeologia*, Vol. XII. p. 57.

the plunder committed by William the Conqueror and his Normans; the indignation with which he describes the ravages unfeelingly committed by this monarch to enlarge his forests, and the cruelty of his forest laws; the address, with which he flurs the virtue of the wife of the conqueror; the dissembling character, and atrocious soul ascribed to the conqueror himself: all, in short, bespeaks the discontented pen of an Anglo-Saxon.

When the poet tells us that he translated his work into French verse, he is willing, no doubt, to make us believe that, in the composition, he made use of Latin chronicles or histories, which were in existence in his time. I have not examined whether or not this author is exact in his Anglo-Saxon history. But this I can say, that he is often otherwise in his Anglo-Norman history.

He confounds, for instance, Matilda of Flanders, wife of William the Conqueror, with Matilda of Scotland, wife of Henry the 1st. He says that the first of these kings died at Caen, while it is a fact incontrovertible that he died at Rouen; he assures us that the second was buried at Caen, while it is certain that he was interred at Reading, &c. &c. These errors prove that this poet, as far at least as relates to the Anglo-Normans, has sometimes trusted to his memory, which has not always been correct; or if he has really taken prior historians for his guides, we must allow that they were faulty and erroneous. However, in despite of these inaccuracies, I could wish to discover them, since this author produces some facts not to be found in other historians. Here then we may observe that, either the sources whence he has collected these facts are lost; or that they came down to him by tradition; or, in a word, that they sprung from his own imagination. I shall only cite one of these facts, to illustrate my idea on this subject.

This poet and historian states to us, that William the Conqueror, in the height of his glory, was not so much at ease, but that the



possibility of a reverse continually tormented his mind, and in short, that he so strenuously desired to know the future destinies of his children, that he assembled the wise men of his states, and particularly the clergy of England and of Normandy, to ask of them an explication on this subject, clear and decided. We must allow that this was no easy matter, and that no council could have met with more cause of embarrassment.

Our poet says, that they disputed, and quarrelled a long time. While some wished to argue from the known character, others from the complexion of the children, their opinions were divided; and the diversity of their sentiments only rendered more impenetrably obscure the darkness in which we view futurity.

It was absolutely necessary, however, that an answer should be returned to the impatient monarch; but the sitting was protracted by incessant dispute, without fixing on any; when one of its members enforced, and with success, that it was first necessary to establish order, and that He would solve the difficulty if they preserved tranquillity. The embarrassment was so general that they soon adopted this offer, although from an individual. They sat down in silence, and this sagacious leader directs, that the children of the Conqueror should appear before them, one after the other.

Robert Curthose came the first. "Fine boy," says he, "if God, who is all powerful, had been inclined to make you a bird, to what kind, of all created, would you wish to belong?" "I would be a hawk," answers the young prince. "Why?" replies the sagacious leader. "Because," says he, "this bird is noble, bold, and always ready to pounce upon his prey; because his valour makes him beloved by princes and warriors, and I would be like him courageous and valiant, honoured by all the world, and, what is more than all, feared by my enemies."

After this answer, the eldest of the sons of the Conqueror was dismissed, and the second made his appearance.

“Fine boy,” says in the same manner this sagacious scholar, “if God had made you a bird, what bird would you wish to be?” William Rufus, after a moment’s reflection, answered, “I would be an eagle.” “Why?” “Because he is the most strong and most powerful of all the birds; and, in one word, he is their king. If he likes to secure his prey, he likes also to share it; and, like him, I would be king, and seize and bestow, according to my own fancy.”

William Rufus retires, and Henry, his youngest brother, takes his place. The same questions are put to him, and he answers that he would have been a starling; “because,” says he, “this bird is good and simple; he delights to live with others of his own kind; if he roves over the country, it is for amusement and for food, and never to do mischief; if he is kept and fed in a cage, he is happy and sings, and entertains his protector. In like manner I would be good, would take field amusements with those like myself, would live in peace with them, would never do injury to any one, and would be always content with having my necessities supplied.” Having given this answer, the young prince quits the assembly.

Then the learned scholar, who had put these questions to the three brothers, broke silence, and said, “We know the dispositions of the children, and can *now* easily give an answer to their father.”

The first would be a hawk, a bird gallant and brave, one that is beloved, but at the same time feared. He does not always freely range at his own pleasure: he passes the greatest part of his time in confinement. So say I of Robert; he will be brave, and emulous of glory. He will acquire a character by the valour of his exploits; but after having repeatedly traversed foreign countries, ranging in the pursuit of fame, he will be taken by force like the hawk, and, like him, will die in captivity.

The



The second would be an eagle. This bird is naturally strong, and powerful; and from that very circumstance we do not give him merit for his prowess. We do not honour violence; we fear it. Weakness has recourse to reason and stratagem for aid, and a trap, or an arrow, serves to destroy the strongest. William, therefore, shall be king, like the eagle, but, like him, he shall also be mischievous, cruel, feared, and hated; in a word, he shall meet with an untimely end.

The third would be a starling. It is a bird unassuming, and gracious. He prefers to live with others of the same kind. He will not do an injury to any one; and he awaits his dissolution tranquil and serene. Such is the character of Henry. Naturally peaceful, he will not make war without necessity. Rich and beneficent, he will be fond of a court as numerous as brilliant. If he suffer some mortifications, time, reason, and friendship, will soften them, and his end will be peaceful, and regretted by his subjects.

This is my decision upon the king's three children, continues the sagacious scholar; if you do not believe it to be just, mend it. I may be mistaken, but if so, I wish to be set right, and I will willingly give place to any opinion, better founded than my own.

It is easy to believe that all the council, from their previous embarrassment, greedily adopted this determination, which opened a way for them to get out of the difficulty, imposed on them by the Conqueror; and they also exhorted the sagacious scholar to go at their head, and himself to disclose to the monarch the opinion which through his means had been adopted by the assembly.

They break up the sitting, and go to find their prince, who receives with honour those men, who came to draw aside for him the impenetrable veil that hides futurity from mortals. The sagacious leader announces to him, that his eldest son would be a gallant knight, but little esteemed; and that, in the end, he would die in  
8  
prison.

prison. That the second would be king, but a wicked king, and that he would be killed. That the third, on the contrary, would be a noble prince, that would reign in glory, and die in peace.

I must repeat that I cannot say with certainty, whether this history is derived merely from the imagination of the poet, or whether he has followed some other historian. In the first case we must allow him a happy invention; in the second we must say that the original has not reached us; at least I know not of any historian, who has handed down these details to us, and I leave to the critics to determine, which of the two opinions is most founded in reason. However, after having observed that this historical anecdote consists of two hundred and sixty-eight verses, I am bound to say that it is found in detached parts in Bibl. Cotton. Cleopatra, A. XII. I know not, therefore, whether it has not from the first been separately worked up as a fable, which might have been afterwards inserted as an authenticated fact in this history, by the poet; or, if it has not been truly any part of this history, by the copier of the manuscript of the Cottonian Library.

ROBERT GROSSE-TÊTE,

BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

Robert Grosse-Tête, bishop of Lincoln, was one of the most learned prelates of the thirteenth century. But as we consider him only as a poet, we refer to the English biographers for information, as to his numerous works in theology, and the different parts of literature and science. We have from this author a poem of more than one thousand seven hundred verses upon the Sin of the First Man, and his Restoration. Leland and bishop Tanner call this work

*Le*



*Le Chastel d'Amour* [n] But it has not this title in any of the French manuscripts we have consulted. It is only to be found at the head of a translation of it into English verse, made by Robert de Brune in the same century.

In the manuscript of the Royal Library, 20 B. XIV. which contains the work of Robert de Grosse-Tête in French verse, the copier has entitled it *Le Roman des Romans*. At that time they called every thing *Roman* that was written in the language of romance, and, from the importance of the subject treated of in this work, he states it *Roman des Romans*.

This poem shews the imagination and facility of the author. His description of the happiness of man in the state of innocence is truly interesting. After the fall of Adam, the poet, imitating Stephen of Langton, makes Mercy and Truth, Justice and Peace, dispute upon the fate that guilty man deserved. The promise of a Redeemer reconciles them, and the author, in explaining the ideas of the prophet, points out in the Messiah, as foretold by Isaiah, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the prince of Peace. The history of the Nativity, in the *Chastel d'Amour*, forms a great part of the poem. This *Chastel* is the Holy Virgin, and it is inhabited by all the Virtues, and adorned by the Graces. In short, this poem sometimes runs into the marvellous, but it is kept up too long to divert, or give pleasure.

The author, like the preceding poets, says, that he has composed this work for persons ignorant of the Latin and Greek languages, who, however, have occasion to know the fundamental truths of religion. But it is not the less astonishing, that this prelate has for such purpose borrowed the language of *Romance*, and we must still more forcibly conclude that it was in general use among the English of

[n] Leland's *Scriptores Britan.* p. 285. Tanner's *Bibl. Britan.*

the thirteenth century; since to instruct all ranks of this nation in the most important truths of the gospel, one, of the most meritorious pontiffs of England, has recourse to this language, in order to unfold them.

The poem of the bishop of Lincoln is to be found at the British Museum. Bibl. Reg. 20 B. XIV. and Bibl. Harleian, N<sup>o</sup> 1121.

A work entitled *Manuel des Pêchés* is also attributed to this author; but as I have never seen it, I cannot say, whether it is in prose, or in verse. The English biographers do not seem, to me, to be better informed on this head. As this work, however, has been translated into English verse, at the end of the thirteenth century, by Robert de Brune, we may presume that it was originally composed in French verse by Robert Grosse-Tête. The author of the catalogue of the Harleian Library asserts, that this work of the bishop of Lincoln was to be found at N<sup>o</sup> 273 of this library, where, I allow, we find a certain *Manuel* in French verse: but it is the work of William of Wadington, and not that of Robert Grosse-Tête.

#### DENIS PYRAMUS.

Denis Pyramus lived in the reign of Henry the III<sup>d</sup>. He speaks to us of Marie, as of a writer, that lived in his time; and as we have proved, that this celebrated woman flourished under this monarch, we are by the same means certain of the century in which Pyramus wrote.

This poet passed a great part of his life at the court of Henry the III<sup>d</sup>, and in those of the English barons. By his account French poetry was much in request among them; romances, tales, fables, and songs in this language, were the delight of these courts; and to satisfy their taste, Denis Pyramus dedicated his talents to write

for



for their pleasure. He mentions some [o] *Servantois* which he composed in honour of the knights, and songs and other pieces which he composed for their ladies: in effect, to satisfy the desires of one or the other, his time was almost wholly taken up in rhyming.

In reward for his labours he was admitted to all their festivals, and parties of pleasure. It is easily to be believed that, from this manner of life, this poet became an Epicurean, and that his muse was not remarkable for her chastity.

He acknowledges himself that she was often a libertine; that in the bosom of pleasure he loved its enjoyments; and, as he himself expresses it with great energy, *il usa sa vie* in relishing it; so that it was age alone, and not distaste, that brought on satiety, and forced him to renounce the life of a courtier. In his retreat he quitted the lute of Anacreon, and his penitential muse would no longer sing any other than religious subjects.

It is to this reformation that we are indebted for two works of Pyramus in French verse. The first is the life and martyrdom of king St. Edmund, and the second contains the "*Miracles*" of the same saint. These two works are in the British Museum, Bibl. Cotton. Domitianus, A. XI. The first of three thousand two hundred and eighty-six verses, and from the proem we derive the details, we have advanced, as to this poet. The second is of more than six hundred verses; but as this manuscript, as far as it relates to the second part of the works of Pyramus, is incomplete; it is fair to presume that it contained many more. The poet observes, after the end of the first work, that he produced the second at the

[o] *Servantois*, or *Sorvantois*, is an antient term of poetry, for a sort of verse or satire which the Trouveres sang in imitation of the *Picards*. These poems were primarily levelled against kings, princes, and ecclesiastics; but when applied to celebrate battles and victories, formed a mixture of panegyric and satire. Communicated by Mr. Moyfant. I. H. M.

command of the lord of the church of St. Edmund; and I know not whether to understand the abbot of St. Edmund, or some private lord.

As to the other works composed by Pyramus, while a courtier, it is difficult to say whether any have reached us: I must acknowledge that, in my literary researches, I have not as yet found any which bore his name.

Denis Pyramus advances nothing certain as to his origin; but fortunately; in the proem to his first work, a phrase has escaped him which discloses it to us; it is when he would impress the certainty of the miracles of St. Edmond, he says, “*Nos Ancêtres ont été les témoins;*” and, from that circumstance, there is no doubt but that he was an Englishman.

As to his literary talents, the favourable reception which they procured to him, as well at the court of Henry the III<sup>d</sup>. as at the courts of the English barons, prove unequivocally that they were uncommon and distinguished. He was well versed, it seems, in the literature of his time; he treats of the poets of his own century; and the judgment, which he passes on their works, shews him a man of a pure and enlightened taste; of a sound and critical judgment, and, above all, of an impartiality which will not withhold respect to merit, even when found in rivals. In short, these qualities, so praise-worthy, ought to make us still the more regret the loss of the other works of Denis Pyramus.

I am, with the profoundest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

*London, June 21, 1797.*

DE LA RUE.

XXIV. A



XXIV. *A short Chronological Account of the Religious Establishments made by English Catholics on the Continent of Europe. By the Abbé Mann.*

Read May 24, 1798.

**I**F the subject which I take in hand appears little interesting at a time when the reigning spirit of several nations is far more disposed to destroy all the monuments of the piety of their ancestors, than to preserve any memory of them, and has already destroyed the greatest part of these I am going to mention; I hope it will appear in a different light to the learned Society of Antiquaries, whose chief care is to collect and preserve to futurity a faithful remembrance of whatever concerns former ages.

If a time should ever come when an exact account of this small part of the British nation shall be found interesting, the following lists of these establishments, collected with care and exactness, may not prove unwelcome, as they may lead to sources where a complete account of each of them may be found.

I shall make no farther apology for this essay than to beg it may be considered rather as a testimony of my profound respect for the learned Society to which I have the honour of presenting it, than for any intrinsic value which I attribute to it.

*Leutmeritz in Bohemia,  
July 16, 1797.*

ABBE MANN.

## I.

*A summary View of the English Religious Establishments on the Continent, under the Heads of the different Orders to which they belonged.*

I. *Secular Clergy.*

1. The English college of secular clergy at Douay, established anno 1568; removed to Rheims from 1578 to 1593, when it returned back to Douay.
2. The English college at Rome for the education of secular clergy, established in 1578.
3. A seminary at Valladolid in Spain, established for the same purpose about 1580.
4. College at Rome about 1578.
5. A seminary at Seville, ditto.
6. A seminary at Madrid, ditto.
7. The English seminary at Paris, founded about the year 1600.
8. The English college at Lisbon, founded 1622.
9. A school for boys of the lower classes at Esquerchin near Douay, about 1750.
10. The Jesuit's college at St. Omer's came into the hands of the secular clergy in 1764.

II. *Jesuits.*

1. The college at St. Omer's, founded in 1594, removed to Bruges 1764, suppressed 1773.
2. The noviciate at Watten, near St. Omer's, 1611; removed to Ghent 1765.

3. The



3. The college at Liege, established 1616; turned into an academy for youth 1773.
4. The professed house of Jesuits at Ghent, 1662; suppressed 1773.

Besides these, the Jesuits had the direction of the Roman college, and of the three seminaries in Spain; they had also houses of missionaries in Maryland.

*Jesuiteffes* established at St. Omer's 1608; removed to Liege 1629; and soon after to Munich.

### III. *Benedictines; Men.*

1. The abbey of Lamspring, in the bishoprick of Hildesheim, four leagues south of the city of that name.
2. The priory at Douay, given them by the abbey of St. Vaast in 1604.
3. The priory of Dieulwart in Lorraine, 1606.
4. The priory of St. Malo's, 1611; removed to Paris 1642.
5. Schools for youth at La Celle in Brie, dependent upon the priory at Paris.

### *Women.*

1. Abbey at Bruffels, established in the year 1598.
2. Abbey at Cambray, in 1623.
3. Abbey at Ghent, 1624.
4. Abbey at Paris, 1651.
5. Abbey at Pontoise, 1652.
6. Abbey at Dunkirk, 1662.
7. Abbey at Ipres, a filiation from that of Ghent in 1665; given over to Irish nuns, part whereof went to Dublin in 1685 or 1686; the rest remained at Ipres till 1794.

### IV. *Car-*

IV. *Carthusian Monks.*

The monastery of Shene near Richmond in Surry, founded by king Henry the Vth in 1416; retired to Bruges in 1559; next to Louvain in 1578; then to Mechlen in 1591; and finally settled at Nieuport in Flanders 1626, till their suppression in 1783.

V. *Brigittine Nuns.*

They were founded at Sion, in Middlesex; and in 1559 left England, and afterwards retired to Lisbon, where they still remain.

VI. *Women of the Order of St. Augustin.*

1. A priory of canonessees of St. Austin, established at Louvain in the year 1609.
2. A priory of the same at Bruges in 1629.
3. Another at Paris in 1633.
4. A convent of canonessees of the holy sepulchre at Liege.

VII. *Dominican Friars.*

1. A convent of Dominicans at Bornhem on the Scheld, between Ghent and Antwerp, 1658.
2. A college of Dominicans in Louvain, dependent on the convent of Bornhem.

*Women.*

3. A convent of Dominican nuns at Bruffels, established in 1690.

VIII. *Franciscan Friars.*

1. A convent of English recollects, founded in Douay 1617.



*Women of the Order of St. Francis.*

1. A convent of poor Clares at Gravelines, 1603.
2. A convent of the same, called Colletines, at Rouen, 1648.
3. A convent of Poor-Clares at Dunkirk, 1652.
4. A convent of Conceptionists, in Paris, 1658.
5. A convent of nuns of the third order of St. Francis, at Bruges, 1658.
6. A convent of Poor-Clares, at Aire in Artois, 1660.

IX. *Carmelites or Terefians; Men.*

A convent established at Tongres, about the year 1770.

*Women.*

1. A convent of Terefian nuns at Antwerp.
2. Another at Lier in Brabant.
3. Another at Hoogstraete in the north of Brabant.

## II.

*A Chronological Account of the English Religious Establishments on the Continent, in the Order of Time wherein they were made.*

I. *Carthusians.*

Of the nine Carthusian monasteries that subsisted in England, London, Shene, Witham, Coventry, Henton, Hull, and Eppworth, were dissolved in 1538; Beauval and Mount Grace in 1539. These communities being dispersed, part of the members retired to Bruges in Flanders; from whence they returned

ed to London in June 1555, and remained in the Savoy till November 1556, when possession was given them of the Chartreuse of *Shene*, near Richmond in Surrey, and they were soon after formally reinstated therein by letters patent of cardinal Pole, bearing date December 31, 1556.

After the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne, these monks, by the intercession of Don Gomez de Figueroa, duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador in England, were permitted to depart the kingdom in a body unmolested, being in number twelve professed monks, and three converse brothers. Their prior was Don Maurice Chauncey, who wrote the history of their emigration, printed at Mentz. They arrived in Flanders July 1, 1559, and retired to the Chartreuse at Bruges, where they remained till 1569, when they removed to a large house in St. Clare's Street, in the same city.

The 19th of April, 1578, they were driven out of Bruges by the Geusian faction, and passing through Lille, Douay, Cambay, and St. Quintin's, they went to the Chartreuse near Noyon, where they staid till the 5th of July following; from whence returning to the Low Countries by the way of Namur, they arrived at the Chartreuse of Louvain the 17th of the same month. Here they were received and lodged by order of Don Juan of Austria till 1590 or 1591.

Prior Chauncey died at Paris July 12, 1581, in his return from Spain, where he had been to solicit succours for his community, and had obtained an annual pension from Philip the II<sup>nd</sup>. but which was never regularly paid, especially under his successors.

Chauncey was succeeded as prior by Don Walter Pytts, who seeing his community uneasy at Louvain, is said by several historians of the Low Countries to have removed it to Ant-



werp in the year 1590; but this does not appear from any certain records of the time. However that was, the next year, 1591, he bought a large house in the Bleek Street at Mechlin, where the community resided till its removal to Nieupart in Flanders in September 1626, by virtue of a charter given by Philip the IVth of Spain, bearing date Bruffels, June 20, 1626. The same king made a grant to this house of about 250 acres of land in the neighbourhood of Nieupart, in lieu of the annual pension given by Philip the IIInd.

Here this community remained until its final suppression by the emperor Joseph the IIInd, in the year 1783, at which time it was reduced in number to three professed monks and two lay-brothers. It is to be observed, that this was the only English community of religious men that had never been dispersed or extinct since the reign of queen Mary. In its library, which was considerable and well chosen, there was a most beautiful large folio bible, written on vellum in the 12th century, and given to the Chartreuse of Shene by king Henry the Vth, its founder; it was in perfect preservation. There were likewise preserved many other manuscripts, and many church ornaments and paintings, which had been brought over from England in 1559. At the final suppression in 1783 all these were dispersed, and many of them lost. The manuscript bible, spoken of above, was destined for the royal library at Bruffels, but never got thither, nor could I ever learn what became of it.

## 2. *Brigittine Nuns.*

These religious women were of Sion-house in Middlesex, now a seat of the duke of Northumberland; where they had been re-established by queen Mary. In the year 1559 they obtained,

by means of the Spanish ambassador, duke of Feria, a safe conduct to leave the nation; and they retired first into Zealand: from thence they went to Antwerp, where they resided in 1571, and some time after. Civil war raging in the Low Countries, and especially at Antwerp, these nuns were obliged to seek some other refuge, and fled into Normandy, and from thence they went to Lisbon [*a*], where they had obtained a settlement

[*a*] The following curious particulars respecting these nuns were communicated by the learned Mr. Corrêa de Serra, F. S. A. &c. in a letter to the Secretary, dated Pentonville, 10th of March, 1800.—“ Sir, from the two Portugueze books, quoted in the end of this note, and which are in the library of chevalier d’Almeyda, our ambassador, I have been able to collect the following information.

“ On the fourth day of May, in the year 1594, arrived in the port of Lisbon fifteen English nuns of the order of St. Bridget, with a novice, accompanied by three fathers of the same order. They were the only remaining part of the community of Mount Sion near London, which before the abolition of that monastery consisted of sixty nuns and twenty-five friars, who after that disastrous event had wandered through France and Flanders, in an unsettled state, and forced by the wars to change often their asylum. On their arrival at Lisbon they were hospitably received by the Franciscan nuns of the monastery of our Lady la Esperanca, and in that convent they lived, till Isabel de Azevedo, a noble lady, made them a gift of some houses and grounds in the place called Mocambo, where they built their church and monastery. The then reigning sovereign Philip the II<sup>nd</sup>. endowed them with a pension of two mil res’s per diem ( 11 shillings 1 penny halfpenny), and twelve mayos of wheat yearly (36 English quarters), paid from the revenue of the Fens belonging to the crown at Santarem. This revenue they enjoy at present, and besides that, several legacies of houses and lands. As far back as 1712 their revenue was valued at five thousand cruzados. The sacraments are administered to them by two secular priests, one of whom is also the administrator of the temporal concerns of the community.

“ On the 17th of August, 1651, both church and monastery were burnt to the ground, and the nuns of Esperanca afforded again for five years an asylum to the distressed English nuns. In the same year, 1651, on the second of October, the first stone was laid in the foundations of the new building, and in 1656 they returned to their present monastery. The church was finished some time after, by the benefaction of Ruy Corrêa Lucas,



tlement which subsists to the present time, and is now almost the only one of nuns that remains on the continent of Europe. It is to be observed of this convent, as has just been said of the Carthusians, that it is the only English community of religious women which has never been separated or extinct since the reign of queen Mary. All the other English convents, both of men and women, were begun anew much later, as will be seen presently.

### 3. *Douay College.*

This first and principal establishment of English secular clergy was begun in the year 1568, by Dr. Allen, afterwards cardinal and archbishop of Mechlin. The civil wars obliged it to retire to Rheims in 1578; but it returned again to Douay in 1593, where it constantly flourished till its destruction under the French revolution in 1793. The only fixed income which this college enjoyed was a pension from the see of Rome of 2000 Roman crowns per annum, which was duly paid to the last. This college was a member of the university of Douay, and in it was taught classical learning, as well as philosophy and divinity. It has produced a great number of distinguished men.

Lucas, and his wife D. Milicia, who remained with the honours and profits of the advowson.

*Geografia Historica of Lima, T. II. p. 150.*

*Corografia Portugueza of Carvatho, T. III. p. 515, and following.*

“ I have omitted on purpose several accounts of miracles and prophecies related by this last author, p. 516 and 519, because they are useless to the history, and do little credit to our clergy.

I am, Sir,

most respectfully yours,

JOS. CORRÊA DE SERRA.”

4. *Roman College.*

This was originally founded at Rome by the Saxon king Ina, in the year 718, for a hospital for English pilgrims; but by a bull of pope Gregory the XIIIth, dated May the 24th, 1578, it was turned into a college for the education of English clergy. It had scarce been a year in the hands of the secular clergy, when the direction of it was given to the Jesuits, in whose hands it remained till the extinction of their Society in 1773. But at all times those who were educated in it were obliged to remain in the state of secular clergy. The revenues of this college, which still subsists at Rome, are about £. 1500 sterling a year.

5. *College at Valladolid.*

This establishment was obtained by the solicitations of father Robert Parsons the Jesuit, and was completed in May 1589 for the education of secular clergy, but under the direction of the Jesuits, as it remained till the expulsion of their Society out of Spain. Since then it was put into the hands of clergy from Douay College. The yearly revenues obtained from the court of Spain by father Parsons for this college, amounted in the year 1605 to 4000 crowns.

6, 7. *Colleges at Madrid and Seville.*

These were established for the education of secular clergy, about the same time, and by the same means, as that of Valladolid; but being small, and their revenues very precarious, they never made any considerable appearance, and at last fell to nothing.

8. *St. Omer's College.*

This was established in the year 1594, by the zeal and industry of father Parsons, and it continued to be the principal establishment

ment



ment of the English Jesuits till their suppression in France, on which occasion those who occupied it removed to Bruges in Flanders, where they instituted a greater and a lesser college; the first of which ceased on the extinction of the Society in 1773, and the other soon afterwards came to nothing under some English dominicans, who had been put into it by the government of the Low Countries. The great college at St. Omer's, in the year 1764, was put into the hands of the English clergy of Douay, in the quality of a royal college, and it remained so till it was annihilated by the all-devouring French revolution in 1793.

9. *Benedictine Nuns at Brussels.*

This was the first *new* convent erected on the Continent by religious persons of the English nation. It took place in the year 1598, by the zeal and industry of lady Mary Berkely, who was first abbess of it, and of lady Mary Percy, a Benedictine nun. Besides their regular duties as religious, they were occupied in the education of young ladies. On the approach of the French to Brussels, in June 1794, these religious ladies fled out of the Low Countries.

10. *English Seminary in Paris.*

This seminary was begun about the year 1600, being intended not only for taking degrees in the university of Paris, but also for maintaining a number of learned men, who were to be employed in writing books of controversy, in opposition to a like design of Dr. Suttcliffe in founding Chelsea college. But this establishment was several times interrupted, and the members dispersed, until the year 1667, when the foundation was considerably augmented by a Mr. Carr, alias Pickney, a member  
of

of Douay College. Yet it was not entirely completed till many years afterwards, when Dr. Betham was put at the head of it; and he, by the help of benefactions, bought a handsome house and garden in the Rue des Postes, Fauxbourg St. Marceau, calling it *St. Gregory's Seminary*, and obtaining the confirmation thereof from the French king by letters-patent of the year 1701. This establishment, like all the rest within the sphere of the French revolution, was destroyed in 1793.

11. *Poor Clares at Gravelines.*

This convent of religious women of the order of St. Francis, was erected in the year 1603, by the endeavours of the Rev. John Gennings, a religious of the branch of the same order called *Recollects*. Several colonies from this mother house settled afterwards at different places. It subsisted till 1793, when it underwent the fate of all the other religious establishments in France.

12. *Benedictine Monks of Douay.*

This monastery was a college belonging to the rich abbey of Benedictines of St. Vedast, or Vaast of Arras, where their young monks resided during their studies in the university of Douay. The buildings being much greater than were necessary for that purpose, the abbey granted a part of them to some English monks of the same order that were professed in different houses on the Continent, on condition that they performed all the choir offices in the church of the college, in place of the monks of St. Vedast. This cession was made in the year 1604 or 1605; and this monastery afterwards became considerable, not only as a convent of monks, but likewise as a college for the  
education



education of youth in classical learning. It was governed by a prior, and subsisted till 1793, when all that remained in the house were seized and imprisoned with circumstances of the most wanton cruelty.

13. *Jesuits of Watten.*

This was the noviciate of the Jesuits, and was begun at Louvain, in the year 1605, by father Parsons; but by a grant made to them by the bishop of St. Omer's of the monastery of Watten, a house before belonging to canon regulars of St. Augustine, they soon removed thither. The bishop's deed was dated April 11, 1611. The yearly income thereof amounted to about 3000 florins. Watten is only two leagues from St. Omer's, on the canal leading to Dunkirk. This house served for a retreat to the aged and infirm members of the society, as well as for a noviciate. After the suppression of the Jesuits in France, those of this house were removed, in 1765, to the Professed house at Ghent, where they remained till the extinction of the Society in 1773.

14. *Benedictine Monks of Deulouart.*

Deulouart is a town in Lorraine, on the Moselle, not far from Pont-a-Mousson. The monastery was given by the cardinal of Lorraine, in the year 1606, to some Benedictine monks of the English nation. Besides the monastery they had a college for the education of youth. Both subsisted till crushed by the French revolution.

15. *Jesuiteesses.*

This institution was first attempted at St. Omer's, in the year 1608, by Mrs. Mary Ward, and by the persuasion and assistance

ance of father Roger Lee, an English Jesuit; but could never obtain an approbation from the pope. In the year 1622 poverty obliged them to break up at St. Omer's; and a few of them obtained a precarious residence in the diocese of Cologne. These, in the year 1629, sought to settle at Liege; but being discountenanced there, they soon after removed to Munich, the capital of Bavaria, where they procured a handsome settlement, which I believe they still enjoy. Their chief employment is the education of young persons of their own sex.

16. *Augustine Nuns in Louvain.*

These canonessees of St. Austin were first established in the year 1609, by Mrs. Mary Wiseman, a professed nun of the Flemish convent of St. Ursula in Louvain. They were governed by a prioress, and educated young ladies. This house enjoyed considerable funds, and subsisted till the French invasion in 1794, when the members of it fled out of the Low Countries.

17. *Benedictine Monks in Paris.*

This priory was first founded at St. Malo, in the year 1611, by Giffard, archbishop of Rheims, who before his elevation to that see had been the first president of the English congregation of St. Benedict. The French king not permitting this house to continue at St. Malo, on account of the proximity of this place to England, archbishop Giffard procured them another at Paris, which afterwards (in 1642) was changed for one in the Rue St. Jacques, where they remained till 1793, when they were involved in the common destruction of the French revolution. During their existence in Paris these monks enjoyed all the privileges of the university, with regard to studies, degrees,



degrees, and benefices annexed to the degrees; and it was by means of these last that the house enjoyed considerable revenues.

18.

Soon after the establishment of this monastery in Paris, father Francis Walgrave, a member of it, obtained from the rich Benedictine abbey of Marmoutier near Tours, the religious cell called LA CELLE EN BRIE, in the diocese of Meaux, twelve leagues east of Paris, which he resigned up to the priory at Paris, and to which it remained annexed till the fall of both in 1793. A superior and two or three religious of the monastery at Paris resided in it, and kept a school for the education of youth in classical learning. This religious foundation had anciently been handsomely endowed, and had an extensive lordship annexed to it.

19. *Jesuits College in Liege.*

This was founded for the education of youth in classical learning, in the year 1616, by George Talbot, afterwards earl of Shrewsbury. He, in 1626, obtained of the duke of Bavaria, prince bishop of Liege, to settle on this college an annual pension, being the interest of 200,000 florins. It subsisted on this footing till the extinction of the Jesuits in 1773, when it changed its name into that of an *English Academy*, at the same time extending its plan of education; and it remained in the hands of those to whom it had belonged before, till the French occupied Liege in 1794.

20. *Franciscan Recollects in Douay.*

This convent was begun in 1617, by father John Gennings, afterwards their first provincial superior. It had no other school than that of the studies of the religious of the house, which enjoyed, in that respect, the privileges of the university of Douay. It subsisted in a flourishing condition till the French revolution put an end to it in 1793; at which time all the friars that remained in it found means of escaping out of France in disguise; whereas the remaining members of all the other English establishments, both of men and women, in France, were seized, imprisoned, and treated in the most barbarous manner that wanton cruelty could invent, being shut up without distinction of age or sex, in churches that had been plundered of every thing, where they remained deprived of all the necessaries of life, a little scanty food excepted.

21. *Nuns of the third Order of St. Francis.*

These religious women were a colony from the convent at Gravelines, and they were first settled at Nieuport in Flanders, about the year 1620, by means of father John Gennings, the establisher of those of Gravelines, and of the Recollects in Douay, whose zeal in this respect was indefatigable. In the year 1658 these nuns were obliged to leave Nieuport on account of the war and inundations, and part of them removed to Bruges, into a house called the *Princen-hoff*, because it had formerly been a part of the palace of the counts of Flanders. They were employed in the education of young persons of their sex, and their community remained considerably numerous, till they were driven out of Flanders by the invasion of the French in 1794.

22. *Jesuits*



22. *Jesuits at Ghent.*

This establishment was made in the year 1622. It was styled the PROFESSED-HOUSE, and was destined chiefly for the aged and infirm, and for such as were unable to perform the active functions of the society. The house was small, and of little appearance. In 1765 the noviciate, beforetimes at Watten as was said above, was placed here; but the extinction of the Society in 1773 put an end to both.

23. *College at Lisbon.*

This was founded by the liberality of Don Pedro de Coutinho, a Portugueze gentleman, at the persuasion of the Rev. William Wiseman, an English clergyman residing in Lisbon. It was confirmed by a brief from Rome dated Sept. 22, 1622, with the annual revenue of 500 gold crowns given to it by the said Don Pedro de Coutinho. The first president, professors and scholars, were sent thither from the English college at Douay in 1628; and it has ever since been under the direction of secular clergy, and remains so still.

24. *Benedictine Nuns in Cambray.*

This abbey was begun in the year 1623, by Mrs. Frances Gavin and two others, all professed nuns of the monastery at Brussels. The establishment was made chiefly by means of father Rudisind Barlow, president of the English congregation of St. Benedict, to which it ever after remained subject. These nuns, besides the regular duties of their order, were occupied in the education of young ladies. In 1793 they underwent the same fate as all the other English convents in France.

25. *Benedictine Nuns in Ghent.*

This abbey was established in the year 1624 by lady Lucy Knatchbull and three other professed nuns of the monastery at Bruffels. The education of young persons of their own sex made part of the employment of these religious women, till their flight out of the country on the approach of the French army in 1794.

26. *Augustine Nuns in Bruges.*

This priory of regular canonessees of St. Austin was erected in the year 1629, by Mrs. Frances Stanford and eight more professed nuns of the English monastery of the same order in Louvain. The education of young ladies was part of their occupation. Their church, rebuilt by a lady Lucy Herbert, prioress of the house, was beautiful but small. These nuns fled, like all the rest, on the approach of the French in 1794.

27. *Augustine Nuns in Paris.*

This house was established in 1633, by lady Letitia Maria Tredway, canonesse-regular of the noble abbey of Nôtre Dame de Beaulieu in Douay, and by the assistance of Mr. Miles Carr, alias Pickney, proctor of Douay college. It was governed by a prioress, and the nuns were employed in the education of young ladies, besides the religious duties incumbent on them as canonesse-regular. This community subsisted till 1793, when the French revolution put an end to it.

28. *Poor-Clares at Rouen.*

This convent of religious women of the strictest reform of the order of St. Francis, by some called *Colletines*, was begun in 1648, by Mrs. Mary Taylor and fourteen associates, all professed



ferred nuns of Gravelines, the mother-house of all the other convents of English Franciscan nuns. The life of these of Rouen was wholly contemplative; they did not interfere with the education of youth. They subsisted, till crushed by the French revolution in 1793.

29. *Benedictine Nuns in Paris.*

This monastery was erected in the year 1651, by the endeavours of Mrs. Clementia Cary. After five several habitations in different parts of Paris, they at last, in 1664, fixed themselves in the Rue du champ de l'Aloutte, Fauxbourg St. Marcel, where they remained till put an end to by the French revolution in 1793. This monastery was under the congregation of St. Benedict.

30. *Benedictine Nuns at Pontoise.*

These religious women were originally a colony from the English monastery in Ghent, which in 1652 went to Boulogne in Picardy, Mrs. Catherine Wigmore being their first abbess. In 1658 they removed from thence to Pontoise, where they subsisted till the revolution in 1793.

31. *Poor-Clares at Dunkirk.*

This convent was founded in the year 1652, by the endeavours of Anne Browne, niece to lord viscount Montague, who was a professed nun of Gravelines. She, with three others of the same house, began the establishment, which subsisted till the revolution of 1793. Their solitary contemplative life did not permit them to meddle with the education of youth.

32. *Conceptionist Nuns in Paris.*

On the breaking up of the convent of Franciscan nuns at Nieuport in 1658, as was mentioned above, (N<sup>o</sup> 21) Angela Jer-ningham and six others of those nuns went to Paris, and in 1660 they put themselves under the rules of the order of the Conception, and along with their other religious duties educated young ladies. Mr. Vivier, a French clergyman, left an estate of about £.300 sterling a year to this convent, which subsisted till the time of the French revolution in 1793.

33. *Dominican Friars at Bornhem in Flanders.*

This convent was founded in the year 1658 by the baron of Bornhem. The first prior of it was Thomas Howard of Arundel, afterwards cardinal Howard, to whom the establishment was principally owing. These religious afterwards kept a considerable college for the education of youth, which continued to flourish till the time of their flight on account of the French invasion of the Low Countries in 1794.

Besides this convent, the aforementioned cardinal Howard founded another in Rome for English Dominicans; but it was suppressed soon afterwards, for which reason it is not enumerated here. Vid. Sanderi Flandria Illustrata, Vol. III. p. 255, 256.

34. *Dominican College in Louvain.*

This little establishment was wholly destined for the studies of the young religious of Bornhem in philosophy and divinity. On that account it enjoyed the privileges of the university of Louvain. It fell of course with the mother-house in 1794.



35. *Poor-Clares at Aire in Artois.*

This community of contemplative women was established about the year 1660, by some nuns from Gravelines, under the direction of the English Recollects of Douay. It fell like the rest in 1793.

36. *Benedictine Nuns at Dunkirk.*

These religious ladies were established in 1662 by lady Máry Caryll (who was their first abbess) and eleven associates, all professed nuns of the English monastery at Ghent; but the establishment being made, five of these returned back to Ghent, and two others of them went to Ipres to begin a like foundation there in 1665. This last afterwards became wholly composed of Irish Benedictine nuns, part of whom, in the reign of king James the II<sup>nd</sup>; went over to Dublin; the rest remained at Ipres till the French invasion in 1794, when they fled.

The English monastery at Dunkirk had formerly considerable funds, but a great part of them were lost in the Mississippi bubble in 1720. The nuns, besides their regular duties, were employed in the education of young ladies.

37. *Dominican Nuns in Brussels.*

These religious women were established in 1690, in a large old house in Brussels, called the *Spellekens*, having a large garden annexed to it. About the year 1777 their house threatening ruin, they built, in the upper part of their garden, a handsome new convent and church. They were not originally employed in the education of young persons of their sex; but the edicts of the emperor Joseph II. in 1782, portending suppression to all the convents of nuns that were not so employed, these

these Dominicans got some scholars, and thereby remained unmolested till their flight on the approach of the French to Bruffels in June 1794.

38. *School at Esquerchin near Douay.*

This was founded about the middle of the present century, by the late Hon. James Talbot, afterwards bishop. He destined it for the education of boys in the lower schools of the classics, thereby to disburthen the great college of Douay, to which he gave it, of that part of its charge; and also for the sake of greater salubrity and space for children in the country, than could be had in the other. This school fell of course with the college to which it belonged, at the time of the French revolution.

39. *Discalced Carmes at Tongres.*

This little establishment had been made a few years ago with permission of the prince bishop of Liege, by some English Carmelite friars, professed in foreign convents. It had hardly time to gain footing, when it was crushed by the French revolution in 1794.

Not having been able to find the dates of the following religious establishments, I place them at the end of this list.

40. *Benedictine Abbey of Lamspring in Germany.*

This abbey is situated in Lower Saxony, in the diocese of Hildesheim, about four leagues south of the city of that name. It is governed by a regular mitred abbot, who, like all the prelates of Germany, enjoys great privileges. I have not learnt how  
it



it came into the hands of the English congregation of St. Benedict, to which it belongs.

41. *Canoneſſes of the Holy Sepulchre, in Liege.*

Theſe religious ladies flouriſhed greatly under the direction of the late Jeſuits, as alſo in the education of young perſons of their own ſex. The French invaſion put an end to them in 1794.

42, 43, 44. *Carmelites, or Tereſian Nuns at Antwerp, Lier, and Hoogſtræte.*

The nuns of theſe three convents were entirely given up to a contemplative life. In 1789 a part of them went over to Maryland, to make a new eſtabliſhment of their order; the reſt fled from the French invaſion in 1794.

Theſe, as far as I was ever able to learn, are all the English religious eſtabliſhments that have been made on the Continent of Europe ſince the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth. Of all this number, I believe, there only now remain the three colleges of ſecular clergy at Rome, Valladolid, and Liſbon, the Benedictine abbey of Lamſpring in Germany, with the nuns of Liſbon and Munich.

A more extenſive account of the foundation of many of theſe houſes, and of the perſons who eſtabliſhed them, may be had in *Dodd's Church Hiſtory of England*, printed at Bruffels in 1737, 3 vols. in folio; in the *Flandria Illuſtrata of Sanderus*, 3 vols. in fol. the *Brabantia Illuſtrata*, 3 vols. in folio; and other ſuch hiſtories of the countries where any of theſe eſtabliſhments were made. What I have ſaid above of the origin, nature, and preſent fate of each, ſuffices for the end I propoſed to myſelf in this ſhort account of them.

XXV. *Extracts from the Parish Register of St. Bennet's, St. Paul's Wharf, London. Communicated by the Rev. Mark Noble, F. A. S. In a Letter to the Rev. John Brand, Secretary.*

Read May 3, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

YOU will do me a great favour in laying the underwritten before the Society of Antiquaries; it is the result of what I saw remarkable in the register books of the parish of St. Benedict, usually called St. Bennet's, St. Paul's Wharf, London. The registers do not commence until after the beginning of the seventeenth century.

From the Baptisms is this entry.

“ The lord Dormer, viscount Ascot, eldest son to the right honourable the earl of Carnarvon, was born on Fryday Oct. 25, and christened on Tuesday November 26, 1632.”

Robert Dormer, baron Dormer of Winge, and baronet, was created by king Charles I. viscount Ascot, and earl of Caernarvon, August 2, 1628. This nobleman, alike distinguished for his virtue, wisdom, and valour, fell after the battle of Newberry, Sept. 20, 1643, in his return from pursuing a party of the parliamentary forces, being killed by a trooper, who, knowing his lordship, ran  
6
him.



him through the body with a sword, and he expired in about an hour. He married Anna-Sophia, daughter of Philip, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, by whom he had an only child, whose birth and baptism are mentioned above. He was William, the second earl of Caernarvon, who dying November 29, 1709, without male issue, that title became extinct, but the barony descended to the issue of Anthony Dormer, of Grove Park, in Warwickshire, second son of Robert, the first lord Dormer; but after being possessed by Robert, the eldest son of that Anthony, it went to the issue male of Robert, the third son of the first baron, and is still possessed by that branch.

From the Baptisms are these other entries.

“ Lady Susanna, daughter of Phillip erle of Pembroke, and the lady Katheran his wife, was baptized May 7, 1650.”

“ Lady Mary, daught<sup>r</sup>. of Phill. earle of Pembroke, baptiz<sup>d</sup>. 13 Decem. 1651.”

“ Phillip, sonne of Phillip earle of Pembroke and the lady Katherine his wife, was baptized 5 January 1652.”

“ Lady Katheran, the daughter of Phillip earl of Pembroke and Katheran his wife, borne 9 June, and baptized the 10 June 1654.”

“ Rebecca, daughter of Philip earl of Pembroke and lady Katheran his wife, was borne the 18th July, baptized 22 July 1655.”

Philip, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, was the fourth, but eldest surviving son of Philip earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, a nobleman, who every way disgraced himself by his violence, his vulgarity, and his severity to his second countess, Ann, sole daughter and heir to George earl of Cumberland, widow of Richard earl of Dorset, one of the greatest female characters that this kingdom ever gave birth to. His first lady was Susan, daughter of Edward, earl

of Oxford, by whom he had the nobleman who was the father of these children. He also had two wives, Penelope, sole daughter and heir to sir Robert Naunton, knt. master of the court of Wards and Liveries, widow of Paul, viscount Banning, by whom he had an only son, William, who succeeded him. His second wife was the mother of the children whose baptisms are here given; she was Catherine, daughter of sir William Villiers of Brookesby, in the county of Leicester, bart. Their issue, besides the above children, were Thomas, and Ann who died an infant. The Philip mentioned as baptized Jan. 5, 1652, succeeded to the family honours upon the death of his half brother, William, earl of Pembroke, &c. I shall not particularize what was the history of the others, as it is done by Mr. Collins in his peerage, who also has given their baptisms from this register.

It appears from these insertions that at the same time, two noblemen of high rank resided in this small parish, and in the heart of the city. I do not know the exact spot; but from the many children mentioned of the earl of Pembroke he must have made it his constant town residence; and we must suppose it was also of the earl of Caernarvon, for had he had more children, it is most reasonable to suppose we should have had their baptisms registered there, had they been born in London. As the earls of Caernarvon and Pembroke, who resided in this parish, were brothers-in-law, and as one was cut off in 1643, and the baptisms of the other's children do not commence until 1651, it seems not improbable but that the earl of Pembroke might purchase or hire the house of the executors of the earl of Caernarvon, during the minority of that nobleman's son, and continue to rent it for some years after he became of age; but the fact is not so; each had his own house.

That they both had their chaplains in their houses is highly probable by these extracts from the registers.



“ Mr. Thomas Smith, chaplain to the earl of Pembroke, buried 24 January 1623.” This earl of Pembroke was father of the earl whose children were baptized in the parish, and proves that he also resided in St. Bennet's.

“ Mr. Sadler, chaplaine to the earl of Carnarvon, buried 23 October 1632.”

In this parish stood Derby-house, now the Heralds' College, the town residence in former times of the Stanleys, earls of Derby; and Huntingdon-house, belonging to lord Hastings, stood in, or very near to this parish; and which Mr. Pennant acquaints us, in his very entertaining History of London, “ became the lodging of Richard the III<sup>d</sup>. in his second year.”

I saw no other persons of title in the register, but some of the members of the Heralds' College, and of those I shall speak in an history of that college and its members, being a work I have now nearly completed, and of those gentlemen who belong to Doctors' Commons, except “ Annabella, daughter of sir Robert Needham, baptized 10 June 1638,” be an exception.

Of the Plague are these entries.

It began July 15, 1625. In July 7 died of it; in August 42; in September 23; in October 3; and in November 1.

It commenced again June 5, 1630, in which month two were buried, and there is no other entry until

August 8, 1636; in that month were five buried of this dreadful disorder; in September 31; in August 6; in November 4; in December 2, when the complaint ceased.

It broke out again August 28, 1643; one was buried of it in that month, and one in September.

It appeared again August 25, 1644; 1 died in that month; in  
September

September 2; in April 1645, 1; in July 1; in August 12; September 18; October 8. In the following year, 1646, on June 18, was 1 buried of the plague, and in September 1. It commenced again in February 1647, in which month 2 died of it; there is no farther mention of this horrid visitation in the register, not even in the dreadful year 1665; the reason of which I suppose is, that the burial ground is so small that none were permitted to bring their dead there who died of the infection.

There is nothing farther memorable in these registers except that it being the parish in which Doctors' Commons stands, it is wonderful to see the vast numbers of marriages by licence, before the marriage act took place, persons coming thither from every part of England to be united in this favoured temple, I had almost said, of Hymen. In genealogies nothing is more difficult than to get the registers of marriages before that act passed; it would be advisable where a pedigree is defective, in this respect, to search the registers of marriages belonging to St. Bennet's.

There are many items of unfortunate deaths, particularly by drowning. There have been many adults baptized; one woman who was brought from Turkey; one, a quaker-woman, was baptized and married in the same day; several Africans; of one there is a declaration that he was a free negro. There have been many foundlings, especially in the beginning and middle of the last century. These children have generally had two baptismal names, the latter Bennet, that it might be used as a surname. The number of exposed children, and murdered ones, in the period I have mentioned, when contrasted with the contrary conduct of the present inhabitants, is a convincing proof of the better morals, or better police of the times in which we live, or at least of the excellence of those benevolent institutions which are maintained by the rich to aid poverty and wretchedness.

Such



*St. Bennet's, St. Paul's Wharf, London.*

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Such are the observations I have the honour to lay before the Society, Sir, from what I have remarked in these registers. I often wonder that the London clergy do not extract the many curious particulars that must be in their registers.

I have the honour to remain,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged, and

most obedient servant,

*Barming Parsonage,  
March 3, 1798.*

MARK NOBLE.

XXVI. *Observations on a Greek Sepulchral Monument  
in the Possession of Maxwell Garthshore, M.D. F.R.S.  
and F. A. S. By Taylor Combe, Esq. F. A. S.*

Read June 7, 1798.

THE antient monument, of which I have now the honour to transmit to the Society a description, was brought into England about the year 1777 by a gentleman of the name of Turnbull, who had resided a considerable time at Smyrna, had travelled through Egypt, and visited most of the Grecian cities and islands. This and other specimens of antiquity, chiefly Egyptian, at his death, he bequeathed to Dr. Garthshore, by whose indulgence I have been permitted the use of them; but as they were bequeathed without any history as to the places from whence they came, or as to the manner in which they were obtained, we can gain no other information concerning them, than what is to be gathered from the antiquities themselves. It is most probable, from the very long residence of Mr. Turnbull at Smyrna, that the present monument was brought from that place; but as the monument itself affords us no clue to guide our opinion, it must be left a matter of doubt.

Sepulchral as well as other antiquities of Rome have ever been regarded as objects of curiosity by the learned; but those of Greece, in consideration of their much greater rarity, of their referring to times frequently more remote, and recording customs less generally known









ΥΙΟΥ ΡΙΟΝΟΣ ΑΠΙΟΝ ΜΕΝΟΥΝΟΑ Α Ε  
 ΑΤΙ ΚΝΟΣ ΑΩΡΟΣ ΕΙΚΟΣΙ ΠΑΗΣ ΑΣΕΤΗ  
 ΚΑΙ ΠΙΕΡΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΤΡΟΜΙΤΗ ΠΗΜΑ ΠΑΙ  
 ΟΑΝΟΝ ΠΟΟΓΙΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΣΤΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ  
 ΟΙ ΠΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΥΟΙΣ ΟΥ ΧΥΜΕΝΑΙ ΟΝ ΗΙΣ ΕΤΕ  
 ΟΥ ΑΑΜΕ ΑΔΗΥΕΝ ΥΜ ΠΙΚΗ ΝΕΟΟΙΣ Α Ε  
 ΚΜΑ ΑΚΡΥ ΟΥΣ ΤΟ ΑΑΟΙΣ ΙΝΕΝΟ ΑΔΗΤΑ ΟΝ  
 ΟΥΤΕΡ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙΝ ΑΕ ΙΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΑΟΙΡΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ  
 ΜΑΑΟΝ Α Ε ΚΑ ΑΥΣ ΑΣ ΤΑ ΡΟΑ ΕΤΗ ΝΕ ΜΗΝ ΤΥΚΗΝ  
 ΡΑΙΝΟΥ ΠΑΟΝΣ ΟΙΚΑ ΙΤΥ ΧΟΙΣΟΣ ΟΝΟΙ Α Ε

A Greek Sepulchral Monument in the Possession of Marjell Garthshore M.D.



known, have never failed to excite in the minds of Antiquaries the greatest interest; and men, whose knowledge in the Greek language has been the most profound, have not deemed it a task beneath their talents to endeavour to divest these remains of their obscurity.

The enclosed drawing exhibits with minute accuracy the figures and inscription. (See Pl. XIX.)

Before I give the inscription, it will be necessary to premise, that some of the letters have partly, and some wholly perished. The obliterations, however, are such as might readily be supplied by any person conversant with the metre and the language; and although, in the present instance, it is hoped nothing has been supplied but with considerable certainty, yet as the defects of the inscription are faithfully expressed in the drawing, if any error should have been committed, it may easily be discovered and amended.

Ἵγιὸς Βίωνος Ἀπίων μὲν οὖν θάλε,  
 Ἄτεκνος, ἄωρος, ἕικοσι πλήσας ἔτη,  
 Καίτοι ἑπὶ τούτοις οἰκίηρος ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέραις  
 Θανὼν, ποθεινὸς τοῖς γονεῦσι γενόμενος·  
 Ὡ πατρὸν κθεῖς, οὐχ' ὑμέναιον ἦσε τις,  
 Οὐ λαμπράδ' ἦψε νυμφικὴν, γόοισι δὲ  
 Καὶ δακρύοις πολλοῖσιν ἐνθάδ' ἤγαγον,  
 Οὐπερ καλοικεῖν δεῖ με τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον.  
 Μᾶλλον δὲ κλάυσας, πάροδε, τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην,  
 Βᾶιν' ἔφιλόν σοι, καὶ τύχοις ὅσων θέλεις.

*Filius Bionis Apion ergo florebat,  
 Expers prolis, immaturus, annis viginti completis,  
 Postea autem miserandus intra tres dies,  
 Suis parentibus desiderium, mortuus est:*

*Cui thalamum maritalem nemo, nemo hymenæum cecinit,  
 Neque facem accendit nuptialem, sed suspiriis  
 Et multis lachrymis huc me ferebant,  
 Ubi decet manere quod superest temporis.  
 Tu potius, deplorata, Viator, mea sorte,  
 I ubi vis, et quæcunque velis obtine.*

The particles  $\text{Μὲν οὖν}$  frequently appear in the first sentence of such writings, in which, without any prefatory matter, the subject is immediately entered upon; but, in the present instance, they have a further use, as they indicate an expression of regret, and are uttered by the speaker with emotions of tenderness and concern.

The word *ergo* is used by Horace in a sense similar to that in which I conceive  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\upsilon$  to be used here.

[a] Ergo Quinctilium perpetuus sopor  
 Urget. CARM. Lib. I. 24, 5.

Of the word *ergo* there is a beautiful instance of the same meaning also in Virgil,

Infelix Dido! verus mihi nuntius ergo  
 Venerat. ÆN. VI. 456.

There can be no doubt of the signification of  $\acute{\alpha}\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$  in the second line, as it is sufficiently explained by  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\ \pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\eta$  which immediately follow. Indeed the whole tenor of the inscription tends

[a] Videntur hæc verba per indignationem ex abrupto pronunciari, sic enim solent in claram vocem subinde erumpere lamentarique, qui interno secum vehementique dolore anguntur; qualiter fingit hîc affici Virgilium, taciteque de morte Quinctilii cum Diis exoptulare.—Cruquii Comment. in Hor. Carm. Lib. i. 24, 5.



to favour the interpretation given it in the Latin. Polyxena, when doomed to die, and bewailing in the following line the circumstance of dying a virgin death,

Ἄνυμφος, ἀνυμέναιος, ὣν μ' ἔχρην τυχεῖν,

is shortly after addressed by Hecuba, her mother, in these words,

ὦ τῆς ἀώρου θύγατερ ἀθλία τύχης.

EURIP. HEC. v. 429.

In Euripides also Electra thus speaks to Orestes,

ὦ μέλεος ἤβης σῆς, Ὀρέσα, καὶ πόθμου,  
Θανάτου τ' ἀώρου. ζῆν ἔχρην σ' ὅλ' ἐκέτ' εἶ.

EURIP. OREST. v. 1027.

Ἄωρος was used in contradistinction to *πρόμοιρος*, the former being applied to those who died in their youth, and the latter to those who died a violent death. It was believed that persons who died in either way were upon their deaths not received into Elysium, but obliged to do penance elsewhere, till they had completed that period, which fate had originally assigned to them, but the completion of which their premature deaths had prevented. They were thought to pass into a state between life and death, having no fixed place of destination, but compelled for a certain time to wander as ghosts. Apuleius alludes to this ancient belief in the following passage, where, when Charite is about to kill Thrasyllus, she says, "*Nec mortis quiete recreaberis, nec vitæ voluptate lætaberis; sed incertum simulacrum errabis inter orcum et solem.*"

METAMORPH. Lib. viii.

The ghost of Dido is represented to have appeared to Æneas in the *Lugentes Campi*,

— quia nec fato, meritâ nec morte peribat,  
Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore.

VIRG. ÆN. IV. 696.

From Tertullian it appears that the Aori, or persons who died before their time, were invoked by prayer. *Invocantur quidem Aori et Bixothanati sub illo fidei argumento, quod credibile videatur eas potissimum animas ad vim et injuriam facere, quas per vim et injuriam sævus et immaturus finis extorsit, quasi ad vicem offensa.*

TERTULLIANUS de Anima. ad fin.

The word ἀώρος occurs in one, and, I believe, in only one ancient inscription; I mean in that edited among *Le Antiche Iscrizioni di Palermo*, p. 37.

Κισσος και Τρυφων οι Ξικαδιου  
Ταλαιπωροι και Αωροι χρησω  
Χαιρετε.

*Cissus et Tryphon, Xichadii filii infelices et immaturi. Boni valete.* For *immaturi* the editor has printed *neglecti*, which certainly does not express the meaning of ἀώροι in that place.

The nominatives in the third and fourth verses have no verbs to which they refer, and must in consequence be used absolutely.

In the sixth line the occurrence of the word πασὸς deserves notice, as it relates to a circumstance in the marriage ceremonies of the ancients not generally known. The hymeneal song comprized a variety of subjects for those whose office it was to sing it, and that of doing honour to the nuptial bed was no inconsiderable part of the solemnity. Scaliger, when speaking of this song, observes, "*Thalamus ipse interea laudatur, aut sine laude pingitur, aut nuptæ vestis, aut πασὸς. i. e. velum tori maritalis, cujus obtentu sacra illa pudenter peraguntur.*"

POET. Lib. III. p. 382.

Πασὸς, which is often used generally for a bridal bed, more properly signifies the *curtains* belonging to that bed, which were usually



much embroidered, the term being derived from the verb *πασσειν*, which Eustathius, in his Commentary on Homer, explains by *ποικιλλιν*.

COMM. in HOM. p. 1239.

The word is fully explained in the Etymologicum Magnum [b], and by an anonymous scholiast [c] upon Homer. Il. III. 126. Of the beauty and magnificence of the *πασοί* the best idea may be formed from a passage in Xenophon Ephesius, where, in describing the bed which was prepared for Abrocomas and Anthia, he informs us that it was decorated with a great variety of figures and devices [d].

Two circumstances, much dwelled upon in the present inscription, are, that the deceased died young, and had experienced none of those ceremonies, which usually accompanied the celebration of a marriage. Nothing among the ancients was a greater object of pity than a young person who died unmarried; and whenever such a misfortune did happen, it was customary to paint it in strong colours upon the tomb-stone of the deceased. A remarkable instance of this custom may be seen in the following inscription published by Fleetwood:

[b] Παστός, ἡ ἐκ παραπετασμάτων ποικίλων κατεσκευασμένη σκηνή, ἧς ἐστὶ πεποικιλμένη· καὶ νυμφικὸς δίκος, παρὰ τὸ πᾶσσειν. ἐξ ἧ καὶ τὸ—πολέας ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλης, Ἰλιάδος γ, ἀντὶ τῆ ἐνεποικιλλιν.

ETYM. MAG. in loco.

[c] Ἐνέπασσεν, ἐνεποικιλλιν, ἐνέπλεκεν, ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ποικίλα παραπέλοισματα παστοῖ καλῶνται.

HOMERI INTERP. PERVETUST. Edit. Romæ, 1517. fol.

[d] Ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ δὲ θάλαμος πεποιημένος, κλίνη χρυσῇ στρώμασιν ἐστρωτο πορφύροις, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης βαβυλωνία ἐπεποικίλο σκηνή· παίροντες ἔρωτες, οἱ μὲν Ἀφροδίτην θεραπεύοντες. ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης εἰκὼν. οἱ δὲ ἰππεύοντες ἀναβάται στρωθοῖς. οἱ δὲ στεφάνοις πλέκοντες. οἱ δὲ ἀνδρὶ φέροντες. Τὰυτα ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ. Ἄρης ἦν ἐκ ὠπλισμένος, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς ἐρωμένην ἴην Ἀφροδίτην κεκοσμημένος. ἐστεφανωμένος. χλαμύδα ἔχων. Ἔρωσ ἀυτὸν ὠδήγει λαμπάδα ἔχων ἡμμένην.

Lib. I. p. 10. edit. Cocchii.

Μοιρη

Μοιρη και Ληθη με κατηγαγον εις αιδαο,  
 Ουπω νυμφειον θαλαμον, και πασαδος ωρης  
 Γευσαμενην, αθιγης δ' ελιπον φαιος ηελιοιο·

The word αθιγης signifies intactus, it having the same derivation as αδικος, which is explained "*Virgo intacta, cujus virginitas est illibata.*"

Many passages might be adduced in illustration of the fifth, sixth, and seventh verses. Among Greek writers it was a favourite idea in the case of young persons who died before marriage, to lament that they had exchanged, as in the present instance, the marriage for the funeral rites. An exchange, so favourable to the display of eloquence and poetry, was eagerly seized as a subject on which they might expatiate with success, and accordingly we find the same idea embellished by different writers in the most elegant and pathetic language [c].

The

[c] Ου γάμον αλλ' Αιδαν επινυμφιδιον Κλεαριστα  
 Δεξατο, παρθενιας αμμαλα λυομενα.  
 Άρτι γαρ εσπεριοι νυμφας επι δικλisiin άχευν  
 Λωτοι, και θαλάμων επλαταγευντο θυραι·  
 Ηως δ' ολολυγμος ανεκραγεν, εν δ' Υμεναιος  
 Σιγαλεις γοερων φδεγμα μεδαρμύσατο.  
 Αι δ' αυτα και φεγγος εδαδάχεν παρα παστῶ  
 Πευκαι, και φθιμενα νερθεν εφαινον οδον.

MELEAGRI EPIGR. 118. edit. I. C. F. Manso.

Και καθ' ην νυκτα συγκατεκλιθη τῶ γήμαντι, κατ' αυτην η δυστυχης ετελευτα, σκηπιου τινος η χειροποιήλου πυρος τοις θαλάμοις εμπροσόντος. Και τον υμεναιον αδόμενον ετι, διεδέχετο θρηνος. Και απο των παστῶν επι το μνημα παρεπέμπετο. Και δαδες αι το γαμήλιον εκλάμψασαι φως, αυται και την επικήδιον πυρκαϊαν εξηπλον·

HELIODORI ÆTHIOP. Lib. II. p. 111. edit. D. Parei.

Πόλε μοι, τέκνον, γαμεις; πόλε σου θυωτες γαμεις; ιππευ, και νυμφιε· νυμφιε μεν ατελη, ιππευ δε δυστυχη· τάφος μεν σοι, τέκνον, ο θαλαμος· γάμος δε ο θάνατος· θρηνος ο υμεναιος·  
 δε



The two last verses contain an instance of sepulchral piety very common in ancient inscriptions. Apion, who is himself supposed to speak what is written in the inscription, after lamenting the hard necessity of death, which is ever to confine *him* to his grave, prays that *the traveller*, who has stopped to shed a tear over his misfortunes, may on the contrary depart wheresoever *his* inclination may direct him, and experience all the success *he* desires.

The elegiac measure being unquestionably best adapted to plaintive subjects, has therefore most commonly been adopted as the fittest for an epitaph. Though other measures have occasionally been employed, yet the whole number of edited inscriptions will produce few examples, like the present, of iambics being employed in the composition of sepulchral poetry.

With regard to the figures, it is most probable that the horse was affixed as a mark of honour. We learn from Xenophon that the Grecian horsemen were chosen in different districts from the wealthiest families; and from those who filled not the least honourable offices in the state.

“ Τάττονται μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἰππεύειν οἱ τοῖς χρήμασι τε ἱκανώτατοι, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκ [f] ἐλάχιστον μετέχοντες.”

XEN. OP. p. 546. edit. H. Steph. Par. 1581.

Among

ὁ δὲ κωκυτὸς τῶν γάμων οὗτος, ᾤδαί. Ἄλλό σοι, τέκνον, προσεδόκων πῦρ ἀνάψαι· ἀλλὰ τῆτο μὲν ἔσβεσεν ἢ πονηρὰ τύχη μετὰ σε· ἀνάψει δὲ σοι δᾶδας κακῶν. ὦ πονηρᾶς τῆς σῆς δαδελχίας; ἢ νυμφικῆ σοι δαδελχία ταφῆ γίγνεται.

ACHILLES TATI, Lib. I. p. 47. edit. Lugd. 1640.

Τῆ δὲ Κυδίππη πρὸς ἕτερον ἡντρεπίζετο γάμος· καὶ πρὸ τῆς παστᾶδος τὸν ὑμέναιον ἦδον αἱ μουσικώτεροι τῶν παρθένων καὶ μελιχίφωνοι, τῆτο δὲ Σαπφοῦς τὸ ἦδιστον φθέγμα· ἀλλ' ἀφνω νερόσηκεν ἢ πᾶσις. καὶ πρὸς ἐκφορὰν ἀντὶ νυμφαγωγίας οἱ τεκόντες ἐώρων.

ARISTENÆTI, Lib. I. Epit. 10.

[f] The words ἐκ ἐλάχιστον are used by Xenophon for this reason. Though the ἰππεες were considered high in rank, they were yet not of the first order. The Athenians were

Among the praises which Pindar confers upon Xenocrates, in his second Isthmian Ode, is that of his breeding horses.

Ἴπποδροφίας τε κομίζων  
Ἐν Πανελλάνων [g] νόμῳ.

In Montfaucon's *Diarium Italicum*, p. 115, are represented two funeral monuments, each having the figure of a horse, the one with trappings, the other facing a pillar, on which are some branches of palm, and near it the word *Noricus*. As both monuments were erected to the memory of Knights, there can be little doubt but that the horses were added to mark some military distinction. Concerning the palm in the last mentioned monument Montfaucon has given us the following observation: "*Equus sculptus habetur ad palmam currens, cum inscriptione Noricus, quia scilicet dominus atque sessor illo vectus palmam retulisset.*"

In the *Museum Worsleyianum*, p. 39, is a Grecian monument, representing a young man seated on a horse which faces a column or altar, on which is seen a Pine, from which circumstance it is no difficult matter to account for the appearance of the horse, as the Pine was one of the rewards conferred upon those who had conquered at the games.

As the iota subscribed was very early in use, and also continued in use for a very long time, nothing decisive can be gained from it re-

were divided into three classes. The first consisted of the πεντακοσιομεδιμοι, so called from the quantity of land which they cultivated; the second of the ιππεις, who, as being rich, provided horses for the service of the country by an express law; the third of the ζυγισται, who were not eligible to the offices of magistracy, and were inferior to the two former.

[g] *Commendatio a studio alituræ equorum, quam ex lege curabat. Erat enim Græcis communis lex, quâ ditioribus necessum erat equos alere ad Patriæ utilitatem.*—Aretii Comment. in Pind. p. 507.

lative



lative to the age of the monument, but from the general appearance of the stone, and from the particular form of the letters, we may gain, perhaps, some information.

The letters, according to Montfaucon [h], are the most ancient in use after the invention of the double vowels, which happened about 450 years before Christ. The same writer observes [i], that the Omega, ( $\Omega$ ) which is in shape like a horse-shoe, continued in use to the time of Julius Cæsar, on whose coins it may be seen, as well as on inscriptions belonging to that period. He adds, that afterwards the Omega, which is in shape like our  $\omega$ , gradually became in use, till at length none other remained. The former letter occurs in the present inscription six times, the latter not once. If we take the mean between the invention of the double vowels and the time of Julius Cæsar, we shall find the present stone to be about two thousand years old.

Since, however, the horse-shoe Omega may be found on Greek Imperial coins, and on other inscriptions subsequent to the time of Julius Cæsar, nothing can be determined on this point. But it may be observed, that as that letter occurs remarkably seldom, the argument in favour of the antiquity of the stone is not therefore entirely lost.

[h] Palæog. Græc. p. 336.

[i] Ibid. p. 154.

XXVII. *A Description of the Church of Melbourne in Derbyshire, with an Attempt to explain from it the real Situation of the Porticus in the ancient Churches.*  
By William Wilkins, Esq. F. A. S.

Read May 10th, 17th, and 24th, 1798.

THERE are but few subjects of architectural art to be met with in this kingdom which were executed from the period of the departure of the Romans to the reign of king Alfred; and indeed the records are but few, and rather barren, to which any reference can be made, or which are to be relied upon with respect to them. The writings of venerable Bede, the Book of Domesday, and a few others, have, however, transmitted authorities on which some dependance may be placed. With respect to buildings, their descriptions are generally short, and leave much room for conjecture; yet a sufficiency may be gathered from them in several instances to assist the Antiquary in his researches. The following extract from Domesday Book shews that the manor of Melbourne in the county of Derby (which lieth in the hundred and deanry of Repton, and is in the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry) [a], is an ancient demefne of the crown, under the head of TERRA REGIS.

“ In

[a] *Extract from a Court Survey made in the year 1623, in the Archives of Dunnington Park, belonging to the earl of Moira.*

“ That the Mannor and Lopp. of Melborne, butteth upon the LOPP. of Dunnington,  
“ Wilson and Beedon eastward, upon Staunton and Caulke southward, upon Der-



“ In Mileburne king Edward (the Confessor) had six carucates of land as rated to the Geld. The arable land is six carucates. There the king hath one carucate in his demefnes, and twenty villains, and six bordarii having five carucates. There is a priest, and a church, and one mill of three shillings value, and twenty-four acres of meadow, the pasture of a wood one mile long and half a mile broad. In the time of king Edward the manor valued at ten pounds, now at six pounds, yet it renders ten pounds[*b*].”

By this we find there was a church at Melbourne in the Conqueror's time; and, indeed, there is little doubt but that it was built very soon after the introduction of christianity. We learn that *Penda* [*c*], the son of *Penda* king of Mercia, had all the south part of Mercia from the river Trent added to his government by the gift of *Oswy* king of Northumberland, upon condition of his embracing christianity on his marriage with king *Oswy's* natural

“ bie Hills and Staunton westward, till it come to the river of Trent, wch. is northward, and devids from Swarkeston and Weston.”

Again, in the 2nd Response—“ and that this Manno<sup>r</sup> extends itself into parte of Swarkeston, Chellaston, Osmaſton, Normanton, and Cottons.”

“ That of the Parsonage the owner is the Bishopp of Carlell.”

“ That this Manno<sup>r</sup> lyeth within Repton Deanerie, Coven: and Litchfeild Diocesse.”

[*b*] “ In *Mileburne* hñ. Rex Edw̄. vi. cañ. trǣ ad gl̄. Trañ. vi. cañ. Ibi. ht. Rex i. car<sup>m</sup>. et xx vill̄ et vi bord. hñtes. v. cañ. Ibi Pb̄r. et æcl̄a. et i. molin. III. solid. et xxiiii ac̄. pt̄. Silva paſſ. i. leū. lḡ. et dim̄. leū. lañ. T. R. E. val. x. lib. m<sup>o</sup>. vi. lib. tam̄. x reddit.”

[*c*] *Penda*, the first christian king of Mercia. Bede's Hist. l. 3. c. 21. “ *Penla* began his reign, or rather government, anno 656.—This king reigning as substitute to king *Oswy* of *Northumberland* aforeſaid, by ſome is not accounted as a *Mercian* king, his army reſting under the command of another.” Speed's Hiſt. 252.

daughter Alkfred [*d*]. It is very probable that this church was built about that time, or perhaps soon after, by *Penda's* son, king *Ethelred*, who married *Offride*, the youngest daughter of the same king *Oswy*, anno 677. The intermarriages of the kings of *Mercia* with the daughters of the king of *Northumberland*, and the conditions of their embracing christianity, are circumstances which, with others, corroborate the idea of this church's having been founded here, upon the newly acquired part of *Mercia*, south of Trent, about that time. The Saxon coins of king *Edwine*, who began his reign A. D. 617, and of king *Ethelard*, A. D. 726, bear in the center, a cross between four points [*e*], exactly corresponding with the ornaments of a capital of one of the pillars towards the west end, which appears to have been a very favourite ornament adopted on the conversion of the *Saxon* kings to christianity. The similitude of the architecture, the plan, and other various contrivances of this building, with that of the celebrated church of St. Andrew at *Hexham* in *Northumberland* [*f*], may by these intermarriages, in some

[*d*] *Alkfred*, the natural daughter of king *Oswy*, was born before her father was king. Anno. 653. Speed. p. 304.

[*e*] Vide a Silver Coin of *Ethelard*, Fig. 2; and another of king *Edwine*, Fig. 1. Pl. XXII, Fig. 3. is the capital of the pillar referred to. The points between the cross alluded perhaps to the nails of the cross.

[*f*] In the year 674 Bp. *Wilfrid* began the foundation of this celebrated church (St. Andrew's at Hexham); and *Eddius* speaks with great admiration of it in this manner. "Its deep foundations, and the many subterraneous rooms there artfully disposed, and above ground the great variety of buildings to be seen, all of hewn stone, and supported by sundry kinds of pillars, and many porticos, and set off by surprising length and height of the walls, surrounded with various mouldings and bands curiously wrought, and the turnings and the windings of the passages, sometimes ascending or descending by winding stairs to the different parts of the building, all which it is not easy to express by words, &c." p. 21 and 22. Bentham's Ely. Richard, prior of Hexham, more fully describes this building in A. D. 1180. The building was then in a decaying state. Richardi Prioris Hagulst, Lib. I. cap. 3.

manner,



manner, be accounted for; it is probable, however, that this church is on a smaller scale, yet it has its archings and vaultings variously enriched with zig-zag and other ornaments, piers, and capitals richly embossed, winding stair-cases, ascending and descending, porticos, oratories [g], and sanctuary divided by arches and partitions from the nave or body of the church, with stone triforii surrounding.

The entrance at the west end of Melbourne church consists of three porticos [h], divided by arches from the nave or body. These porticos are vaulted, or groined with masonry; and there are chambers over each which are divided entirely from the nave by a partition supported by the arches beneath. I do not learn exactly the uses to which these chambers were applied; they might be perhaps the habitations of the *Mansionaries*, or keepers of the church, who were styled *Pastophori* [i], or perhaps for some other purposes,

[g] Oratory. In some canons the name *Oratories* seems to be restrained to private chapels, or places of worship set up for convenience in private families, still depending upon the parochial churches, and differing from them in this, that they were only places of prayer, but not for celebrating the communion. But the council of *Agde* in France allows the *Eucharist* to be administered in private Oratories, except upon *Easter-day*, or *Christmas*, or *Epiphany*, or *Ascension*, or *Pentecost*, or such other of the great festivals; and upon these too if they had the bishop's licence and permission for it; so that in those ages an *Oratory* and a Catholic church seem to have differed, as now a private chapel and a parochial church, though the first ages made no distinction between them. Bingham's *Antiq. of the X<sup>a</sup>. Ch.* book VIII. ch. I. p. 274.

[h] *Portico*, according to the general acceptation of the word, is an open part of a building supported by columns at the entrance, under which, as we are informed by Vitruvius, "the people were sheltered from the sun and excessive weather, where "they might entertain each other in discourse, till the hour came for offering sacrifice." Palladio's *Arch.* by Gia<sup>o</sup>. Leoni. ch. IX. p. 12.

[i] *Pastophorium* is explained by *Schelftrate* to be the chamber or habitation where the ruler of the temple dwelt. *Schelftrat. Concil. Antiochen.* p. 186.

which

which at this time we can only conjecture; for the ancient churches had various other apartments; the *Diaconicum*, the *Gazophylacium*, or Treasury, &c. &c. as well as lodgings for such as took sanctuary in the church [k].

The porticos of this church furnish me with an opportunity of commenting upon the explanation of the term Portico, as misconceived and given by Mr. Bentham in his learned and ingenious remarks on the History of Saxon Churches [l]; and as it is a work to which future Antiquaries will frequently refer, and on whose authority they may with good confidence rely, and more particularly affording assistance in the investigation of Gothick remains, I hope it will not betray too much presumption to controvert some opinions in the course of the work, or too much vanity to attempt a censure, where so little opportunity is offered, to the severity of criticism. The remarks are more immediately confined to the idea which Mr. Bentham entertains with respect to the situation of the porticos of ancient churches.

“ To instance (says Mr. Bentham) the church of *St. Peter* and  
 “ *St. Paul*: When *Augustin* died, that church not being finished,  
 “ he was buried abroad; but as soon as it was consecrated, *Bede* tells  
 “ us that his body was brought into the church, and decently in-  
 “ terred *in porticu illius aquilonari* [1], in the north portico of the  
 “ same. He further speaks of another portico in the same church,  
 “ in which queen *Bertha*, king *Ethelbert*, and other kings of *Kent*,  
 “ were buried; this he calls *Porticus Sti. Martini* [2], to distinguish  
 “ it from the former, and was probably the opposite or south.

[k] Antiq. of X<sup>n</sup>. Ch<sup>s</sup>. p. 314.

[l] Bentham's Ely, p. 18. Mr. Bentham appears to be the first author who professedly treats of the origin and progress of church architecture.

[1] Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Lib. ii. cap. 3.

[2] Ibid. c. 5.



“ portico. The word *Porticus* occurs several times in *Bede*, *Alcuin*,  
 “ *Heddius*, and other ancient *Saxon* writers, and is generally transf-  
 “ lated by the *English* word *Porch*, and so misleads us to think it  
 “ synonymous with *Atrium*, or *Vestibulum*, denoting a building with-  
 “ outside the church, at the entrance into it: whereas this can by  
 “ no means be agreeable to *Bede*’s meaning; for in his account of  
 “ king *Ethelbert*’s interment he expresses himself in such terms as  
 “ will not admit of that sense. He was buried,” says *Bede*, “ in  
 “ *Porticu Sti. Martini intra ecclesiam*[<sup>1</sup>]; which shews that the Por-  
 “ ticus was within the church. And likewise in relating the burial  
 “ of archbishop *Theodore*, A. D. 690, he says, he was buried in *Ec-*  
 “ *clesiâ Sti. Petri, in quâ omnium Episcoporum Doruvernensium sunt*  
 “ *corpora deposita* [<sup>2</sup>]. In the church of *St. Peter*, in which all the  
 “ bodies of the bishops of *Canterbury* were interred, though he had  
 “ before said [<sup>3</sup>] that they were all interred in the north portico, ex-  
 “ cept *Theodore* and *Beræwald*, whose bodies were buried in *ipsa Ec-*  
 “ *clesia*, in the church itself; because that portico could not con-  
 “ veniently hold any more [ ]. To make these several passages in  
 “ *Bede*

[<sup>1</sup>] *Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Lib. ii. c. 5.*

[<sup>2</sup>] *Ibid. Lib. v. c. 8.*

[<sup>3</sup>] *Ibid. Lib. ii. cap. 3.*

[<sup>6</sup>] “ The better to elucidate the sense of the word *Porticus*, the reader will be  
 “ pleased to compare the following passages from *Bede*, and other ancient writers. A. D.  
 “ 721. obiit Johannes Ebor. Episcopus in Monasterio suo Peverlac et ‘ sepultus est in  
 “ ‘ porticu S. Petri.’ *Bede Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. cap. 6.*—A. D. 726. obiit Tobias Ros-  
 “ fensis Episcopus, et ‘ sepultus est in porticu S. Pauli Apost. quam intra ecclesiam S.  
 “ ‘ Andreæ sibi in locum sepulchri fecerat.’ *Ibid. cap. 23.*—A. D. 977. Sidemannus  
 “ Creditoniæ Episcopus ‘ sepulturæ traditur in monasterio Abendonensi in parte Eccle-  
 “ ‘ siæ Boreali, in porticu S. Pauli.’ *Chron. Saxon.*—A. D. 1034. Obiit Brithwius  
 “ Wellensis Episcopus; ‘ hic jacet in aquilonari porticu ad S. Johannem (Glastoniæ).  
 “ ‘ Britwoldus Wintoniensis (l. Wiltoniensis) Episcopus obiit A. D. 1045 hic sepultus.  
 “ ‘ fuit cum Brithwio in eadem ecclesia in parte aquilonari.’ *Monast. Angl. Vol. I.*  
 “ p. 9.

“ *Bede* consistent, we must necessarily allow, that the royal family  
 “ of *Kent*, and the first eight archbishops of *Canterbury*, were all  
 “ buried in this church; the former in *St. Martin's*, or the south  
 “ portico or isle; *Augustin* and his five immediate successors in the  
 “ north portico or isle; and *Theodore* and *Berctwald* in the body of  
 “ the church; for when he says the two latter were deposited in  
 “ *ipsa Ecclesia*, he certainly means no more by that expression than  
 “ the nave or body, as distinguished from the side isles. It plainly  
 “ appears then, that this, which was one of the first erected *Saxon*  
 “ churches, consisted of a nave and two side-isles; but how a  
 “ church of that form could have been supported without pillars

“ p. 9.—‘ In ambabus porticibus Coventriæ jacent ædificatores loci præcellentissimi  
 “ ‘ conjuges’ (scil. Comes Leofricus et Godiva Comitissa uxor ejus, qui Leofricus  
 “ ‘ obiit, A. D. 1057.’) Ibid. p. 302. In all the above cited places a more consider-  
 “ able part of the church is certainly intended by *Porticus*, than what is commonly un-  
 “ derstood by the *church porch*, as it is usually rendered by our ecclesiastical writers.  
 “ It was frequently distinguished by the name of some saint; for we read of *Porticus*  
 “ *Sti Martini* in *St. Augustin's* church at *Canterbury*; *Porticus Sti Gregorii* in *St. Pe-*  
 “ *ter's* at *York*; *Porticus Sti Petri* at *Beverly*; *Porticus Sti Pauli* in *St. Andrew's* at  
 “ *Rocheſter*, and other distinctions of that kind in many of our ancient churches. The  
 “ reason of which appears to be, that they were dedicated to the honour of those  
 “ saints. Thus we find by king *Edgar's* charter to *Thorney Abbey*, that the church  
 “ there was dedicated A. D. 972, to *St. Mary*, *St. Peter*, and *St. Benedict*: *i. e.* the  
 “ east part of the choir, where the altar was placed, to *St. Mary*; the western part  
 “ to *St. Peter*; and the north *Porticus* to *St. Benedict*. Ibid. p. 243.—From all these  
 “ instances, where the word *Porticus* occurs, it appears that the writers meant by it  
 “ either what is now commonly called the *side-isle* of the church, or sometimes it may  
 “ be a particular division of it, consisting of one arch with its recess, as in the follow-  
 “ ing passage in *Bede's* account of the relicks and ornaments with which the church  
 “ of *Hexham* was furnished by *Acca*, who succeeded *Wilfrid* in that bishoprick,  
 “ A. D. 710.—‘ Acquisitis undecumque reliquiis B. Apostolorum et Martyrum  
 “ ‘ Christi, in venerationem illorum, Altaria distinctis Porticibus in hoc ipsum intra  
 “ ‘ muros Ecclesiæ posuit.’” *Bedæ Hist. Lib. v. cap. 20.*



“ and arches of stone, is not easy to conceive; the very terms,  
 “ indeed, seem necessarily to imply it. The same remark may  
 “ be extended and applied to *St. Peter's* church at *York*, which  
 “ was a spacious and magnificent fabric of stone founded A. D.  
 “ 627 by king *Edwin* soon after he was baptized<sup>[7]</sup>. For that  
 “ it had such porticos within, appears from *Bede's* relation of  
 “ the death of king *Edwin*, who was killed in battle A. D. 633.  
 “ ‘His head,’ says he, ‘ was brought to *York*, and afterwards car-  
 “ ‘ ried into the church of the blessed apostle *St. Peter*, and de-  
 “ ‘ posited in *St. Gregory's* portico <sup>[8]</sup>.’

“ Other notices occur in the same author of churches built in  
 “ or near his own time of stone, as *St. Peter's* in *York* last men-  
 “ tioned, and the church at *Lincoln* built by *Paulinus*, after he had  
 “ converted *Blæcca*, prefect or governor of that city, which was a  
 “ stone church of excellent workmanship<sup>[9]</sup>; and those other  
 “ churches he speaks of might have been of stone, for aught that  
 “ appears to the contrary. *Bede* is indeed rather sparing in his de-

[7] “ Mox ut baptismum consecutus est (*Ædwinus*) majorem et augustiorem de la-  
 “ pide fabricare curavit basilicam.” *Bedæ Hist. Eccl. Lib. ii. cap. 14.*

[8] “ Adlatum est caput *Ædwin*i Regis *Eburacum*, et inlatum postea in ecclesiam  
 “ B. Apostoli *Petri*;—positum est in porticu S. *Papæ Gregorii*. *Bedæ Hist. Eccl.*  
 “ *Lib. ii. cap. 20.* Mr. *Collier* cites this passage from *Bede*, and seems to have adopt-  
 “ ed the common error of taking *porticus* for a building withoutside the church; and  
 “ thence falsely infers, that it was not the custom of that age to bury within-side. ‘ King  
 “ ‘ *Edwin's* head (says he), was deposited in *St. Gregory's* porch; from whence we  
 “ may probably conclude, that his children before mentioned, who are said to have  
 “ been buried in the church, were only buried in the porch, the custom of that age  
 “ going no further.” *Collier's Ch. Hist. Vol. I. p. 86.*

[9] “ In qua civitate et ecclesiam operis egregii de lapide fecit.” *Bedæ Hist.*  
*Lib. ii. cap. 14.*

“ scription of them ; so that little is to be collected from him of  
 “ their manner of building ; he says nothing in direct terms either  
 “ of pillars or arches in any of his churches ; though the word  
 “ porticus, which he frequently uses, may be said to imply both ;  
 “ as it certainly does in some instances, if not in all.”

From these passages of Mr. Bentham's History it is evident that he misconceives the situation of the *porticus* in these ancient churches ; and with Mr. Collier, in his Church Hist. he is equally erroneous in his inferences, who has mistaken the *porticus* for the porch. It does not appear that either of them were aware that the porches to our present churches are of modern adoption ; indeed they are not to be found but of *Gothick* workmanship. We never find the porches of the *Saxon* or of the *Norman* style, and they are generally, though not always, placed against the sides of the north and the south aisles, whereas the portico of these more ancient churches are a part of the principal building, divided from the nave by arches, as in the instance of this church at Melbourne, where a continuity of roof covers the whole. It is evident enough from all the quotations from *Bede*, the *Chron. Saxon.* the *Monast. Angl.* &c. &c. that the *porticus* does not mean the porch, nor indeed any part of the SIDE-ISLES, as Mr. Bentham has conceived ; and they clearly evince that the porticos, though not large, were not an inconsiderable portion of the building ; and if the plan of the *porticus* of Melbourne church be consulted, there can be no difficulty in determining that *Bede's* account is sufficiently just, explanatory, and *perfectly consistent*, although “ he says nothing in direct terms “ either of pillars or arches [m] ;” and we ought not therefore to conclude, with Mr. Bentham, *that Bede, in this instance, is, at all,*

[m] Hist. of Ely, p. 18.



sparing in his description of his churches, which probably had neither PILLARS NOR SIDE-ISLES [n]. And if the west end of the churches he describes, were divided off, like this at Melbourne, for the *Porticus* [o], it is also probable they were subdivided, in like manner, into smaller portions, and each portion or portico was dedicated to a favourite saint, as were those of St. Andrew at Rochester, &c [p].

[n] The plan of Dunwich Church in my former Essay (Archaeolog. Vol. XII. Pl. XXXVII.) has neither *pillars nor side-isles*; it is divided into three apartments—the *Anti-Temple*\*, the *Temple* †, and the *Sanctuary* ‡. It is probable that the *Anti-Temple*, which in this instance is the greatest portion of the church, is the part which *Bede* names the *porticus*, therefore Collier's observation is right; (Ch. Hist. Vol. I. p. 86.) and so indeed we may further infer, from Mr. Bentham's quotations from *Bede*, &c. "that bodies were not at that time buried but in the porticus§ of the " church ||."

[o] See the plan of Melbourne Church, Pl. XX. the walls A B and C, which now stop up the arches of the porticus, are of subsequent workmanship. The Section Pl. XXI. shews them open—the wall D is original, and divides the chambers over the porticos from the nave.

[p] "The entrance into the interior *Narthex* in the church of Paulinus, was out of the Portico's, or Cloysters, before the church, by three inner porches †, and as many gates opening out of them, the middle one being the greatest and highest of the three." X<sup>n</sup>. Ch<sup>s</sup>. ch. iv. p. 291.

\* The *Narthex*, or Ante-Temple, where the Penitents and Catechumens stood.

† The *Naos*, or Temple, where Communicants had their respective places.

‡ The *Bema*, or Sanctuary, where the Clergy stood to officiate at the Altar.

Bingham's Antiq. of the X<sup>n</sup>. Church, ch. iii. p. 289.

§ "Conc. Nanneftens. c. 6. In ecclesia nullatenus sepeliantur, sed in Atrio, aut Porticu, aut in Exedris Ecclesie."

|| "Whilst we are speaking of the Ante-Temple, it will not be improper to observe, that for many years after burying-places were allowed in cities, they were still kept out of that which was strictly and properly called the church, and only allowed in those parts of the Ante-Temple, the Atrium, and Portico's, as appears from a Canon of the Council of *Nantes*, An. 658, which prohibits any to be buried in the church, but allows of it in the Atrium, or Portico's, or Exedrae of the Church."—Bingham's Antiq. of X<sup>n</sup>. Ch<sup>s</sup>. B. viii. p. 290.

† These porches and gates are sometimes called *Arcus*, from the manner of their structure, which was arch work. Ibid.

It is extraordinary, however, that this did not appear more obvious to Mr. Bentham, for in p. 29, speaking again of the form of the plans of these buildings, he says, “ as far as we can judge they were  
 “ mostly square [¹], or rather oblong buildings, and generally turn-  
 “ ed circular at the east end [²], in form nearly, if not exactly, re-  
 “ sembling the *Basilicæ*, or Courts of Justice, in great cities  
 “ throughout the *Roman* empire; many of which were, in fact,  
 “ converted into *Christian* churches, on the first establishment of  
 “ christianity under *Constantine the Great*; and new erected  
 “ churches were constructed on the same plan, on account of its  
 “ manifest utility for the reception of large assemblies. Hence *Ba-  
 “ siliæ* was commonly used in that, and several succeeding ages,  
 “ for *Ecclesia*, or church, and continued so even after the form of  
 “ our churches was changed. Now these *Basilicæ* differed in their  
 “ manner of construction from the *Templa*; for the pillars of these  
 “ latter were on the outside of the building, and consequently their  
 “ Porticos exposed to the weather; but the pillars of the former  
 “ were within, and their Porticos open only towards the nave, or  
 “ main body of the building; their chief entrance also was on one  
 “ end, the other usually terminating in a semicircle: and this, I  
 “ conceive, was the general form of our oldest Saxon Churches.”

These passages very clearly fix the entrance into the churches *at one end*, and of course the end opposite to the chancel; and *as dif-*

[¹] “ St. Peter's at *York*, begun by K. Edwin, A. D. 627, is particularly reported  
 “ by *Bede* to have been of that form; per quadrum cæpit ædificare basilicam.” *Bedæ.*  
*Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 14.*

[²] “ An ancient church at *Abendon*, built about the year 675, by *Heane*, the  
 “ first abbot of that place, was an oblong building, 120 feet in length; and what is  
 “ singular, was of a circular form on the west, as well as on the east; habebat in lon-  
 “ gitudine 120 pedes, et erat rotundum tam in parte occidentali, quam in parte ori-  
 “ entali.” *Monast. Angl. Vol. I. p. 98.*



tinctly point out the situation of the Porticus, through which was the entrance [q]. We also learn by this, and indeed by other authors, that the fashion of the churches of that age was formed from the *Basilicæ* [r], or Courts of Justice [s], in consequence of those places, (which were very well adapted for a congregation,) being originally made use of for this purpose in the time of *Constantine the Great*. We are also informed that the Porticos of these *Basilicæ* were WITHIN the building, and indeed precisely corresponding with the Porticos of the church of Melbourne, and as must be understood from the relation of *Bede*, and other ancient writers [t].

[q] The entrance into the Athenian Temples was through the *Portico* (*Pronaos*, *Anti-Temple*, or *Vestibule*); some of their temples had an entrance at both ends, when the back front was called the *Posticus*, and that entrance the *Posticum*. The plan of those temples which had entrances at both ends were said to be *Amphyprostylos*.

Stuart's Athens, ch. ii. p. 9.

[r] But upon the conversion of Constantine many of these (*Basilicæ*) were given to the church, and turned to another use for christian assemblies to meet in, as may be collected from that passage in *Ausonius*, where speaking to the emperor *Gratian*, he tells him, 'The *Basilicæ*, which heretofore were wont to be filled with men of business, were now thronged with votaries praying for his safety; by which he must needs mean, that the *Roman* halls, or courts, were turned into christian churches, and hence I conceive the name *Basilicæ* came to be a general name for churches in after ages. Bingham's Antiq. of X<sup>n</sup>. Ch<sup>s</sup>. B. viii. ch. i. p. 274.

[s] Heathen temples were also converted into churches; and it was by advice of pope Gregory to Mellitus\*, that for the better accommodation of the christians of these times, the heathenish temples should not be demolished, but converted into christian service. Hen. Huntingd fol. 322. As his successor Boniface obtained of the emperor *Phocas* to have the Pantheon at Rome transformed and dedicated to the honour of *St. Mary* and *All Saints*, to this day called *Sancta Maria Rotunda*. Stavely's Hist. of Ch<sup>s</sup>. in Eng. p. 70.

[t] This seems to be implied also by the prophet Joel: "Let the priests, the ministers of the LORD, weep *between the porch and the altar*." Joel, ch. ii. ver. 17.

\* Mellitus consecr. Bp. of St. Paul's in the time of K. Ethelbert.

Palladio has also made the same observation: "Moreover the ancient Basilicæ had their Porticos on the inside, as may be perceived by our draughts; and the modern ones, on the contrary, either have no porticos at all, or they have them on the outside towards the square or open place [u]." And again: "but we, neglecting the Porticos surrounding the temples, build our churches very like the ancient Basilica's, or Courts of Justice, in which (as we said) the Porticos were made WITHIN the building, as we do now in our churches [x]."

The pillars and arches now standing in the church of Melbourne, and in a very perfect state, do necessarily imply the originality of side-aisles; but in the churches which Bede and the other ancient writers have described, as quoted by Mr. Bentham, no mention is made of either pillars, arches, or side-aisles; we therefore ought not, with Mr. Bentham, to admit they had any, from the explanation only of those buildings containing a porticus within the body, which he has mistaken to be in the north or south aisles; whereas there appears by his own account, aided by ancient incontestable proofs, that the Porticus was a portion of the west end of these early built churches. There can be no great presumption in concluding that the plans of the churches so described more resembled that of the ancient church at *Durwich* beforementioned.

Having thus far endeavoured to prove Mr. Bentham's error, we shall close the attempt with a description of what yet remains unnoticed in this curious church of Melbourne.

The external walls of the side-aisles of Melbourne church being more exposed to the weather, would consequently require more frequent reparation, and the fashion of larger windows was adopted

[u] Palladio's Architecture by Giac<sup>l</sup>. Leoni. B. iii. chap. xx.

[x] Ibid. ch. ix. p. 12.



as the art of manufacturing glafs became more known; fo we muft account for the fubfequent introduction of the Gothic windows in the north and fouth ailes of this church. The form of the upper windows is ftill original, as fhewn in the Section Pl. XXI. the tops being circular and not pointed. The end of the chancel, or fanctuary, though now fquared off, was originally circular, like thofe of the primitive British churches, which may be feen on the plan; and what is ftill more extraordinary, the fame form may be traced at the eaft end of both the fide-ailes, which terminated in the fame circular manner, precifely like that defcribed by *Jacobus Goar*, as inferted in Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Churches [y]. Thefe were probably Oratories or Chantries [z], dedicated perhaps to various faints, like thofe divifions of the Portico's. The north and fouth windows of the chancel ftill retain their original form, though the eaft windows of both the chantries are in the Gothic ftyle [a], evidently introduced in the new wall built when the circular parts were taken down. The plan Pl. XX. will explain this better than words.

Thefe compartments at the end of the ailes are placed like thofe of the ancient Saxon church at Ely, differing only in the circular

[y] B. viii. ch. iii. p. 287.

[z] Sir Ralph Shirley, who died in the year 1516, bequeathed lands in Melbourne and Worthington to the *Chantry* of St. Catherine in St. Michael's church in Melbourne for ever, to pray for his foul. Pilkington's Derbyfh. Vol. I. p. 81.

I learn fince, by Mr. Dawfon, who has examined the Evidence Chamber at Donington Park, there were two Chauntries, one dedicated to St. Katherine, the other to St. Michael, the patron faint of the church.

[a] Perhaps it is unneceffary to comment upon the word *Gothic*, as here applied. Almost every writer on thefe kind of buildings has endeavoured to explain it, as proper or improper. Its general acceptation is pretty well underftood, as denominating the kind of buildings which fucceeded the *Norman* ftyle; I think it is as applicable as any term, and indeed more fo than *Saracenic*, *Moresque*, &c.

termination of the ends; indeed, the whole of this building more resembles the form of the ancient Basilicæ than any other I have heretofore met with.

As the plan and section, although on quite as large a scale as are generally shewn, are yet insufficient to give the precise measures, I have added some of the general dimensions as follows:

	ft.	in.	ft.	in.
The North portico - - - -	9	8	by	9 8
South portico - - - -	9	8	—	9 8
Middle portico - - - -	15	5	—	9 8
Thickness of arches which separate the porticos	5	0		
Three porticos together - - - -	44	9	—	9 8
The nave - - - -	63	0	—	18 6
Side-isses, each - - - -	63	0	—	9 6
Height from the floor to the top of each pier				15 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Opening of the arches - - - -				8 10
Diameter of the circular piers - - - -				4 0
Height from the floor to the soffit of the arches				20 4
Thickness of the arches betwixt the nave and the tower				5 0
Ditto next the chancel - - - -				5 0
Width of the transept under the tower - - - -				17 6
The chancel - - - -	14	9	—	27 4
The north and south chauntries, each - - - -	30	0	—	14 6
Whole length of the church within - - - -	132	6	—	44 9
Height from the floor to the upper tier of arches				24 6
Height of the walls to the foot of the roof - - - -				35 6
				poles. yds.
Melbourne church, distance of from the hall, formerly the palace of the bishops of Carlisle - - - -				28 6
Melbourne church to the Old Chantry House - - - -				3
————— from the site of the ancient castle				160 6
				“ King



“ King Henry [*d*] the 1st, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, erected a bishoprick at Carlisle; and Henry the 3rd, in the fifty-fourth year of his reign, granted to God and the church of the blessed Mary at Carlisle, and to Walter then bishop of Carlisle, and his successors, and to the prior and canons of Carlisle in the said church, and their successors, the parsonage of Melbourne, with the lands, rights, and appurtenances. This bishop Walter, or some of his immediate successors, erected a palace here, near to the church, and imparked a part of the adjoining lands; and there they had their residence occasionally for some centuries during the frequent inroads and devastations of the Scots in the neighbourhood of their palace at Carlisle. In later times the bishops have leased this palace and the lands and tythes belonging to the parsonage; and by virtue of an act of parliament of the third year of queen Anne, to confirm an agreement made between Thomas, then bishop of Carlisle, and Thomas Coke, Esq. respecting the said parsonage, the said Thomas Coke being then lessee thereof, the same is now held in fee farm of the said bishoprick by the present lord viscount Melbourne. The park hath been disparked many years; but the house and gardens have been much improved by his lordship's ancestors, and make a pleasant summer residence. The patronage of the vicarage still belongs to the bishoprick of Carlisle. The manor of Melbourne was granted by king Henry the 3rd. to Edmund his younger son, created by his father earl of Lancaster; and in the 19 Edw. I. he had grant of Free-warren in his manor of Melbourne from that king his brother; and in 2 Edw. III. Henry earl of Lan-

[*b*] This account of Melbourne has been collected (and transmitted to me, by Edward Dawson, Esq.) from the archives at Donington Park, belonging to Francis earl of Moira.

caster [*c*], son of earl Edmund, obtained licence for a market every week upon the Wednesday, at his manor of Melbourne in Com. Derb. ; but this long since hath been discontinued, the earldom of Lancaster being afterwards erected into a duchy by Edward the III<sup>d</sup>. the manor of Melbourne continued to be a part of the great inheritance belonging thereto ; and in right thereof became the possession of the crown.

King James the I<sup>st</sup>. in 1604, by a grant under the seal of the duchy of Lancaster, alienated the castle and manor of Melbourne to Charles earl of Nottingham, who soon after sold the same to Henry earl of Huntingdon, ancestor of the late earl of Huntingdon, for four thousand seven hundred pounds ; and the manor is now the inheritance of the earl of Moira, his lordship's nephew.

The ancient castle was suffered to go into ruins after it came into the possession of the earls of Huntingdon ; but sufficient of the walls and foundations thereof are now remaining to mark out the site and extent, and to shew the great strength of the building [*d*]. By order of her majesty queen Anne a survey of the manor was made in the year 1702, by Thomas Fanshawe, then auditor of the duchy, in which he notices, that " her majesty hath a faire ancient castle standing there, which her majesty keepeth in her own hands : " and that Gilbert, earl of Shrewsbury, was then constable of the same, and bailiff there by letters patent during his life, with the annual fee of ten pounds.

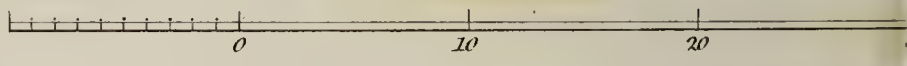
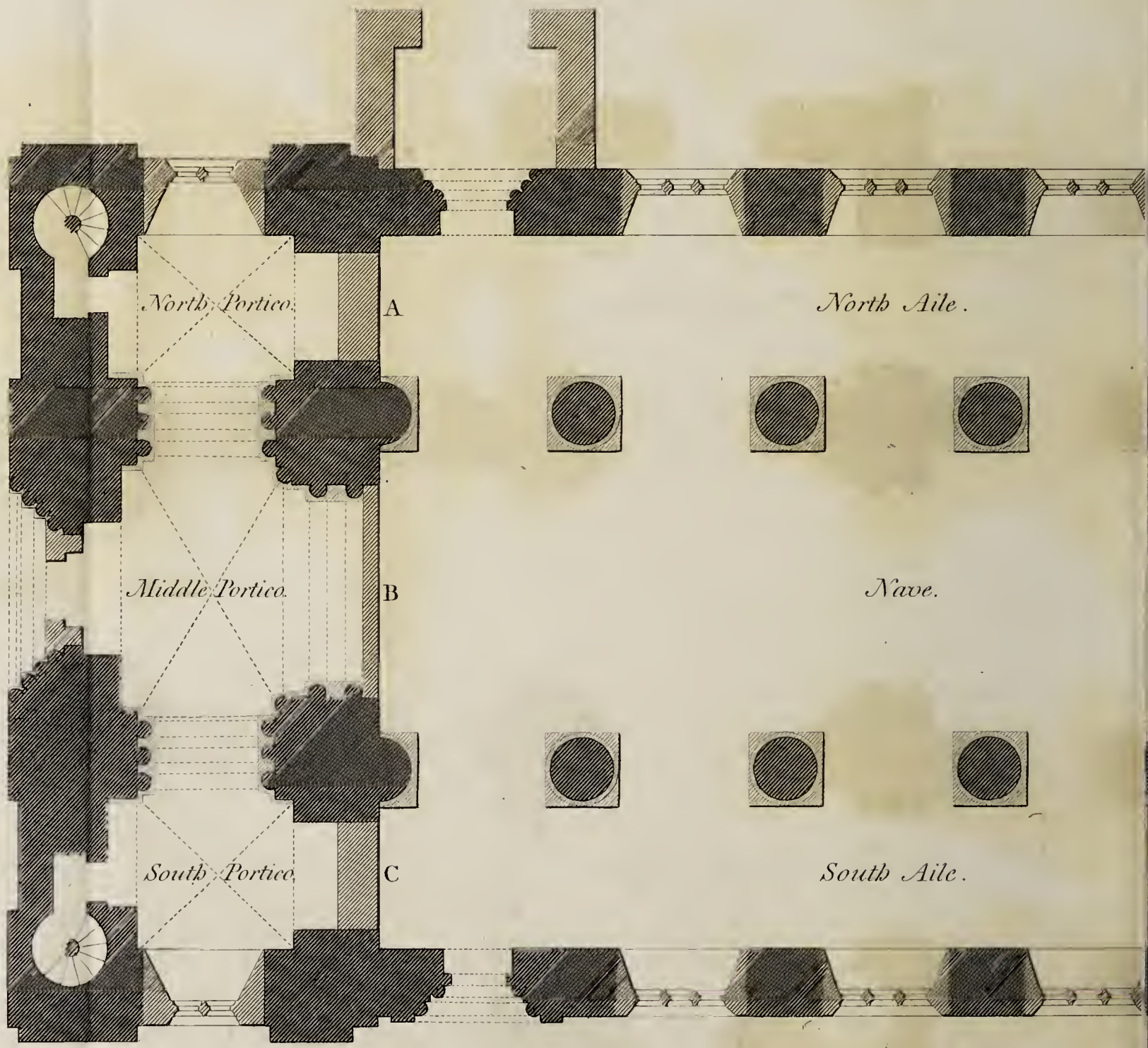
[*c*] This last earl of Lancaster, who probably erected the noble castle formerly here for his residence.

[*d*] The Antiquarian Society have favoured the public with an engraving of this castle, from an original drawing preserved in the duchy office of Lancaster, taken in the time of queen Elizabeth, which shews the venerable style of building of this ancient royal mansion.

The



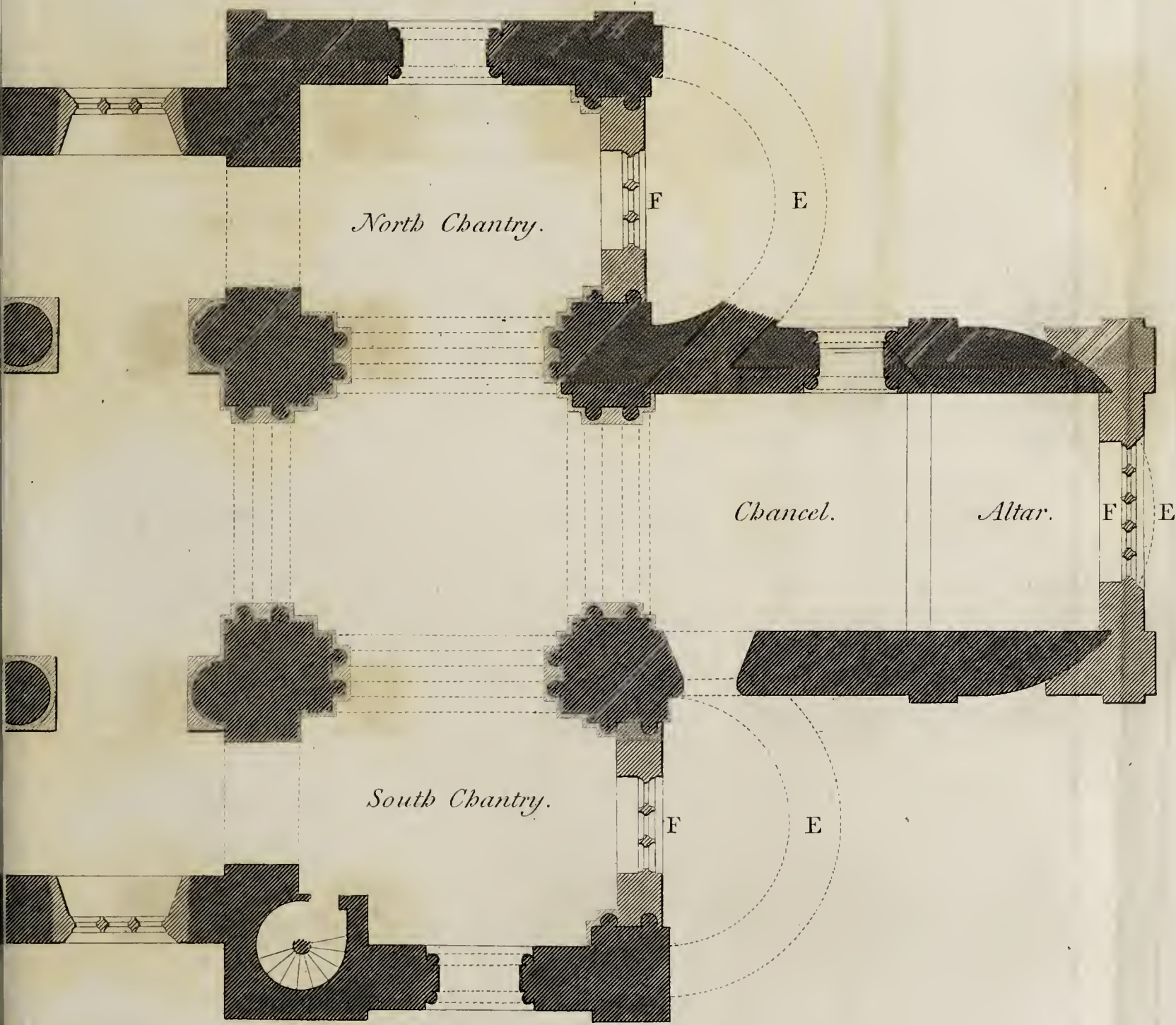




Wm. Wilkins Junr del 1797.

Plan of Mel



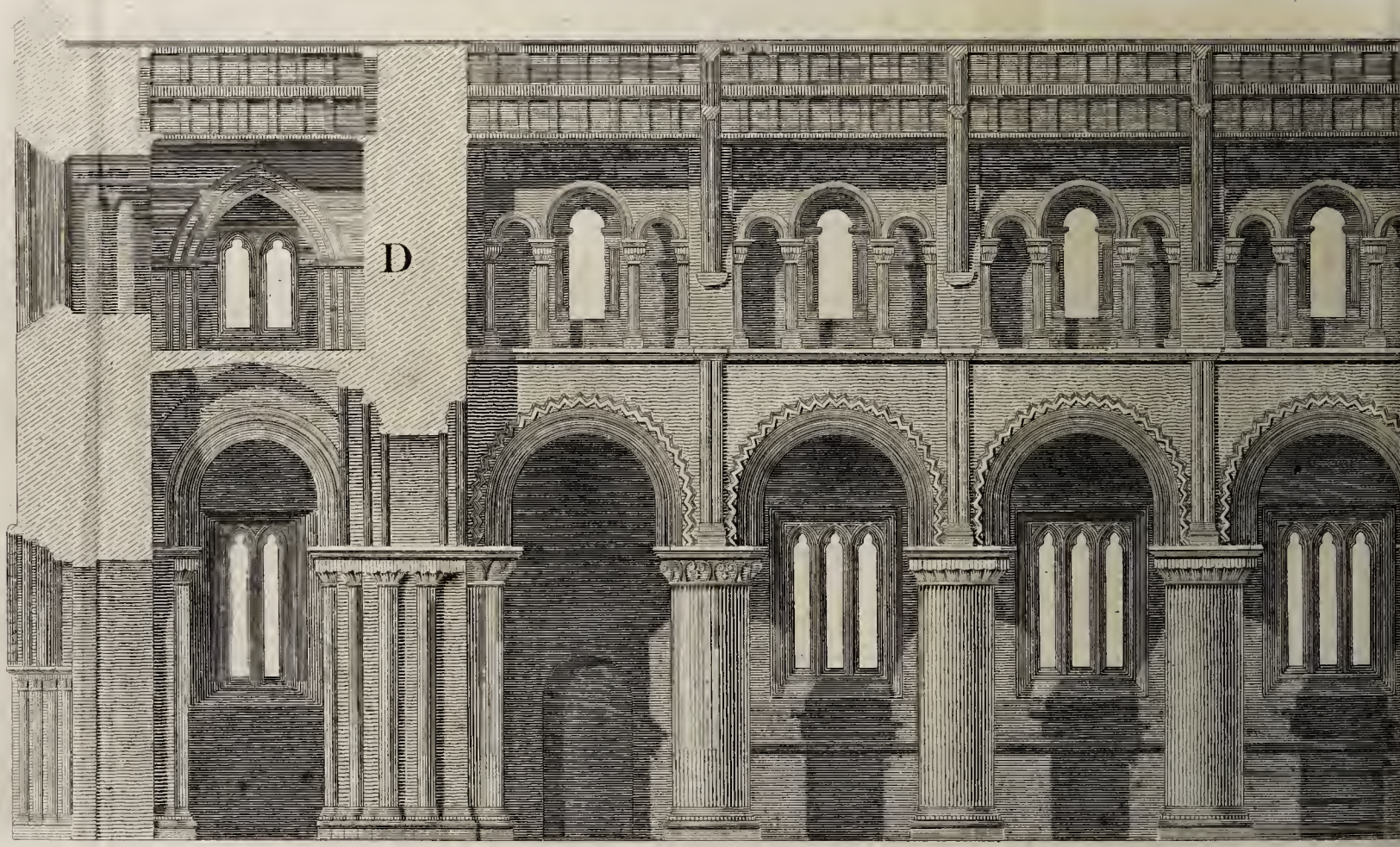


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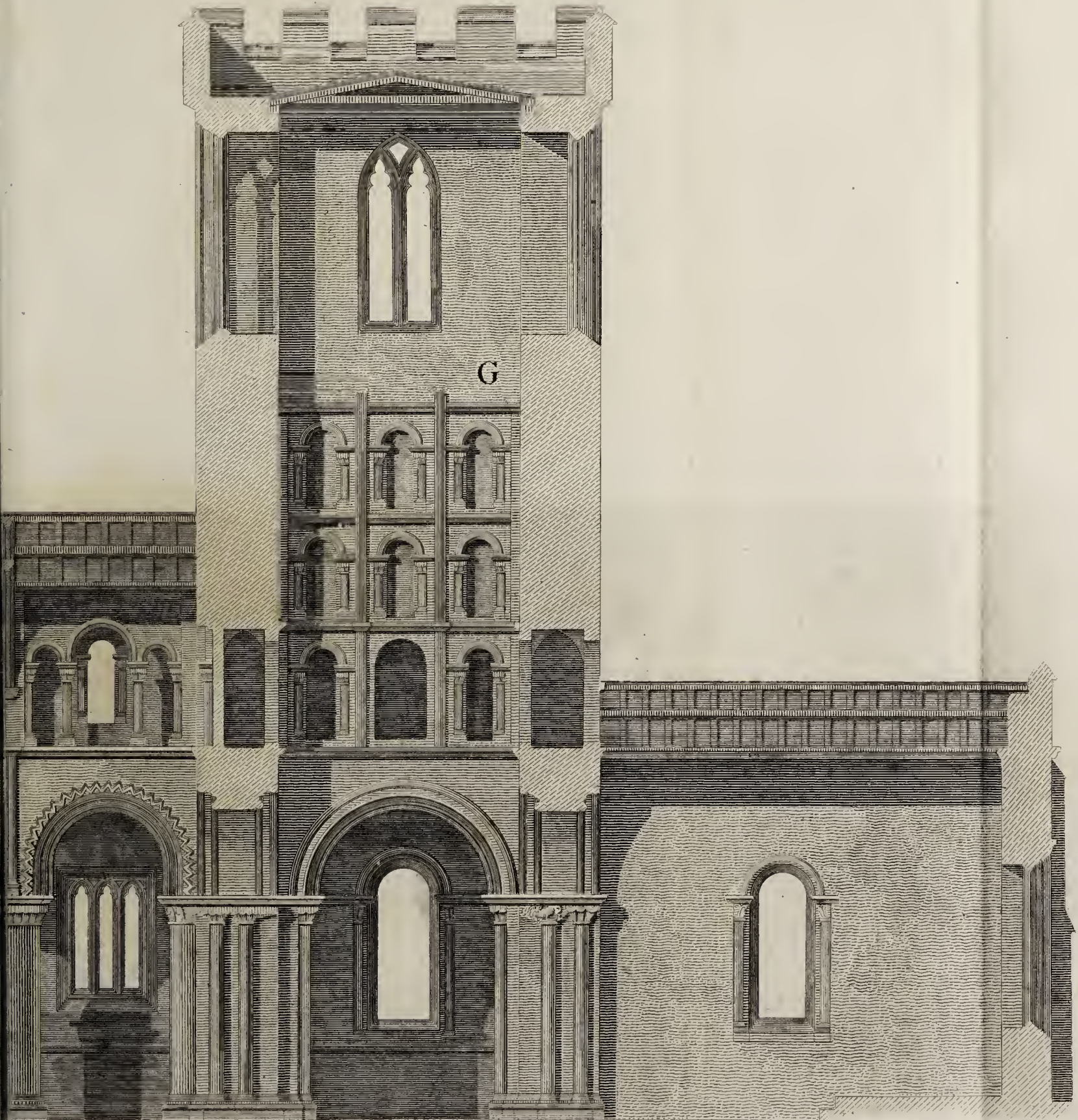






D











The lands and tenements belonging to the church are mentioned in an ancient survey of the manor made the 7 Hen. VIII. (1516) and were held in fee-farm of the duchy by the rents there mentioned.

Joh̃es Thurnaston Capell̃s. Cantarie S̃e Katherine teñ lib̃e un. Mes̃. et iiij vergat. terr. nup̃. Rob̃ti. de Hichfield et postea Willĩ. Bars et al̃. terr. et ten. in Neuton et Wylnaston nup̃. Will̃i Bars. et r. p̃ ann.	}	s. d. x viij ob. et. sect. cur.
Capell̃s. Cantarie S̃i Michis ten. certa terr. et tent. et redd̃. p̃ ann.	}	iij v.

The chauntry-house of St. Katherine is still remaining; it is a very ancient stone building standing near the west end of the church, and is now converted into a malting office. From the above-mentioned survey it seems to have been very liberally endowed; a messuage and four yardlands in Melbourne, and other lands and tenements in Newton and Wilton, must have been a considerable property for John Thurnaston, the chaplain thereof.

*Description of Drawings from Melbourne Church.*

No. I. Pl. XX.—The Plan. A, B and C—Walls, which at this time shut out the communication of the Porticos with the church—the windows of the ailes have been cut out for the admission of a subsequent style.

E. E. E.—Dotted lines, shewing the ancient terminations of the east end of the chancel, and the north and south chauntries.

F F F—Gothick formed windows, since introduced.

No. II. Pl. XXI.—The Section from west to east. D—the wall which divides the chamber over the middle Porticus from the nave

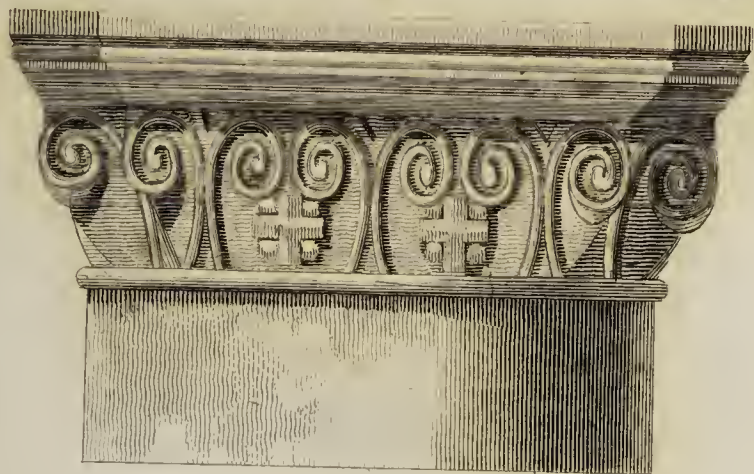
of the church. G—It is probable that the tower originally terminated here—the superincumbent work being of more modern construction.

No. III. Pl. XXII.—Fig. 1 and 2.—Coins of K. Ethelard and K. Edwin of the seventh and eighth centuries—the center ornament corresponding with the ornament of a capital of one of the piers fig. 3.—Fig. 4. capitals of other piers.—Fig. 5, profile of the bases of the piers.—Figures 6, 7, 8, and 9, other ornamented capitals in the church.—Fig. 10, the font, shewing the section of the basin with a pipe for emptying the water.

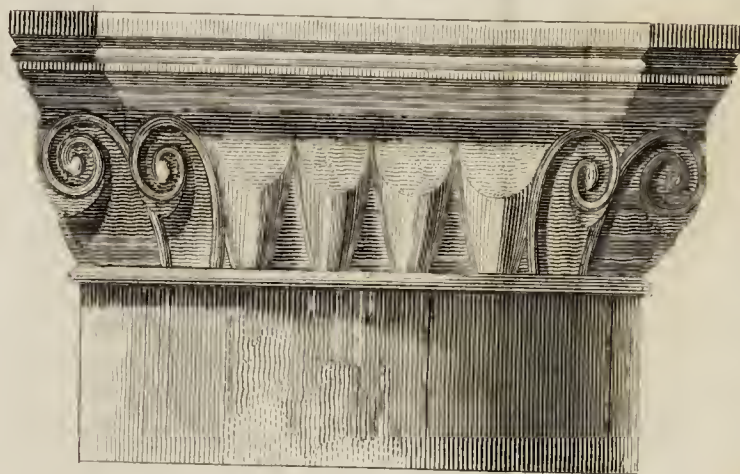


MELBOURN CHURCH

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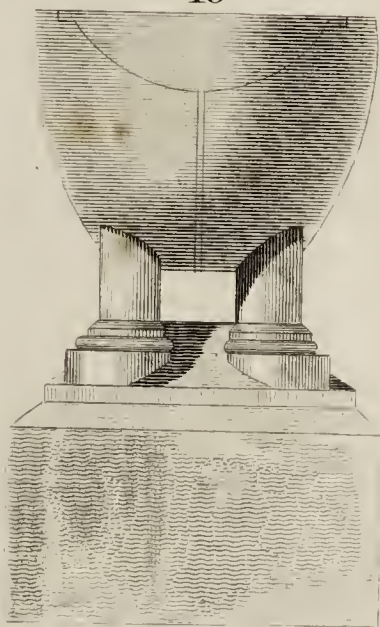
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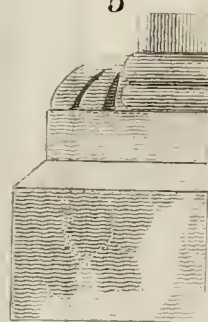
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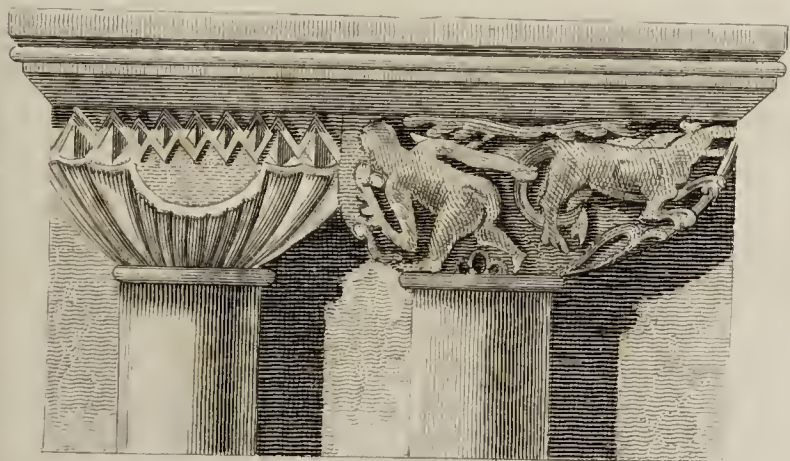
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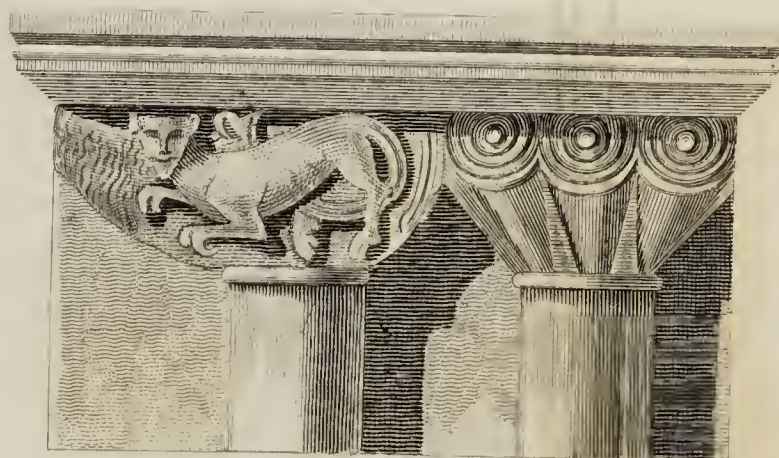
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XXVIII. *Enquiries concerning the Tomb of King Alfred, at Hyde Abbey, near Winchester. By Henry Howard, Esq. In a Letter to George Nayler, Esq. York Herald, F. A. S.*

Read March 29, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

*Horsham Barracks, Feb. 26, 1798.*

**T**HE high veneration I feel for the character and principles of our renowned Alfred, led me, whilst we were quartered in Winchester last year, to make the discovery of his tomb an object of research.

History informs us, that Alfred and his queen Alfwitha were buried in the church of Newanminster, which he founded and began, and which after his death was finished by Edward the elder, who was also interred near his father. In the reign of Henry the first Newanminster was taken down on account of its being too near the cathedral church; and in the year 1112 that king, attended by the bishop of Winchester and his whole court, translated with great pomp the body of Alfred to a tomb at the foot of the high altar of the magnificent abbey church which he built for that purpose at a place called Hyde, near the walls of the city of Winchester; the body of Edward the elder, and I believe also of the queen, were removed at the same time.

You will lament, with me, the failure of my researches, and feel some share of the same indignation, when I inform you that the

ashes

ashes of the great Alfred, after having been scattered about by the rude hands of convicts, are now probably covered by a building erected for their confinement and punishment. And when you are told that this occurred so late as the year 1788, and that no one in the neighbourhood, led either by curiosity or veneration for his remains, attempted to discover or rescue them from this ignoble fate, your surprise will not, I think, be less than my own.

To the account I send you (in the hope, that some one more conversant in antiquity, may make this a subject of further inquiry or illustration) I have added a rough drawing, (Pl. XXIII) to which I shall make references, but must forewarn you not to expect great accuracy, as the plan and measurements are taken solely by stepping the ground in different directions, and without instruments or chain.

The foundations of Hyde Abbey church, for I am informed that little else remained of the structure, were situated in the inclosure A, which is raised two feet above the level of the valley. In the year 1787-8, this small field was purchased by the county, and in it they erected the New Gaol or Bridewell.

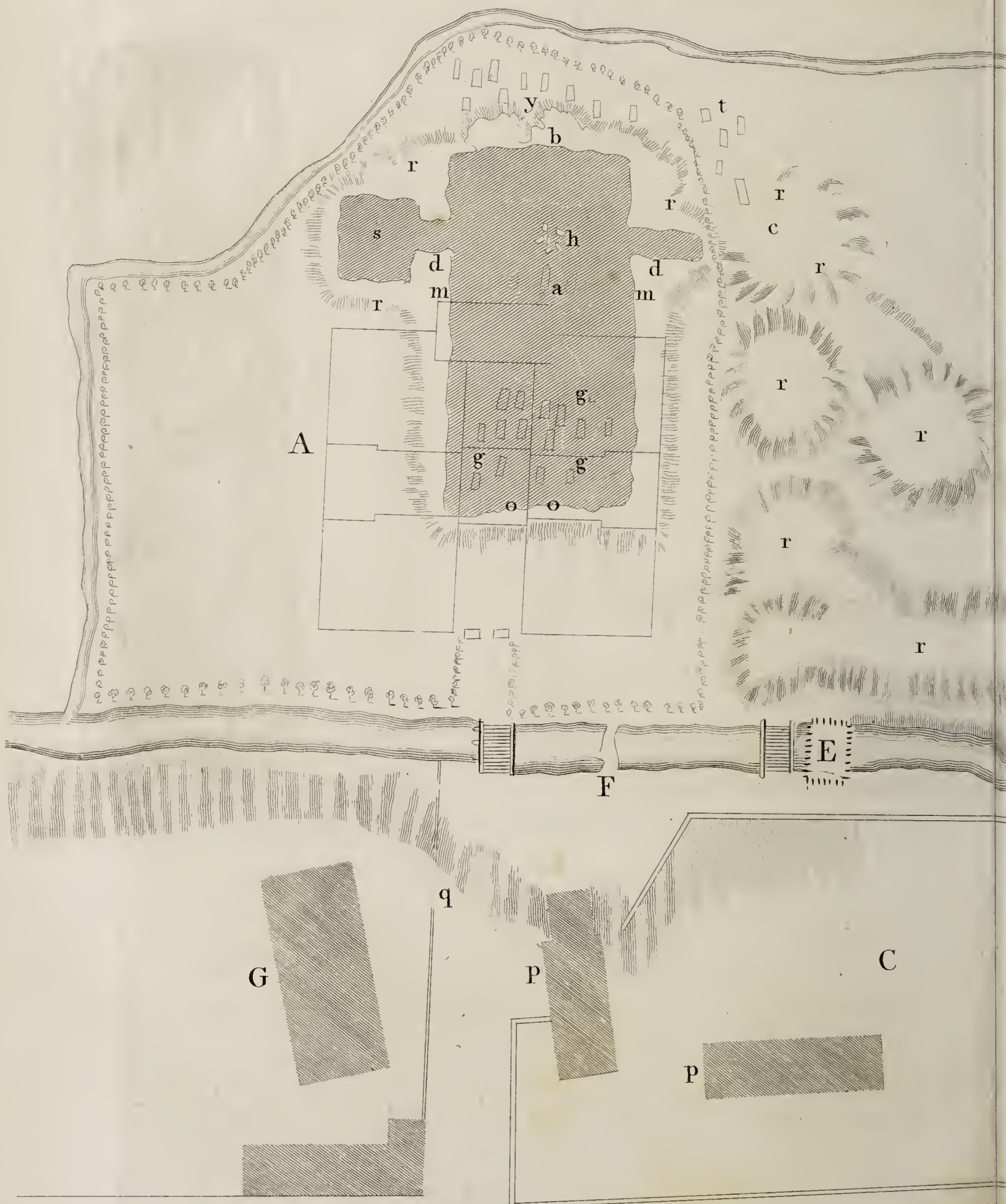
Mr. Page, the keeper of the Bridewell, who is a very intelligent, and apparently accurate man, and of much respectability in his line of life, was the overseer of the prisoners and other workmen there employed, during the whole time of the building of this gaol, the removing the stones and rubbish, and preparing the garden. He very obligingly attended me two mornings; and from his repeated and uniform description, and the points he shewed me, I give you the following measurements and account.


He stated that the inside of the church, which stood on springy ground, was easily distinguished by its being laid with strong beaten clay to the depth of nearly four feet, the whole forming an oblong square, enclosed by the foundations and rubbish.

At



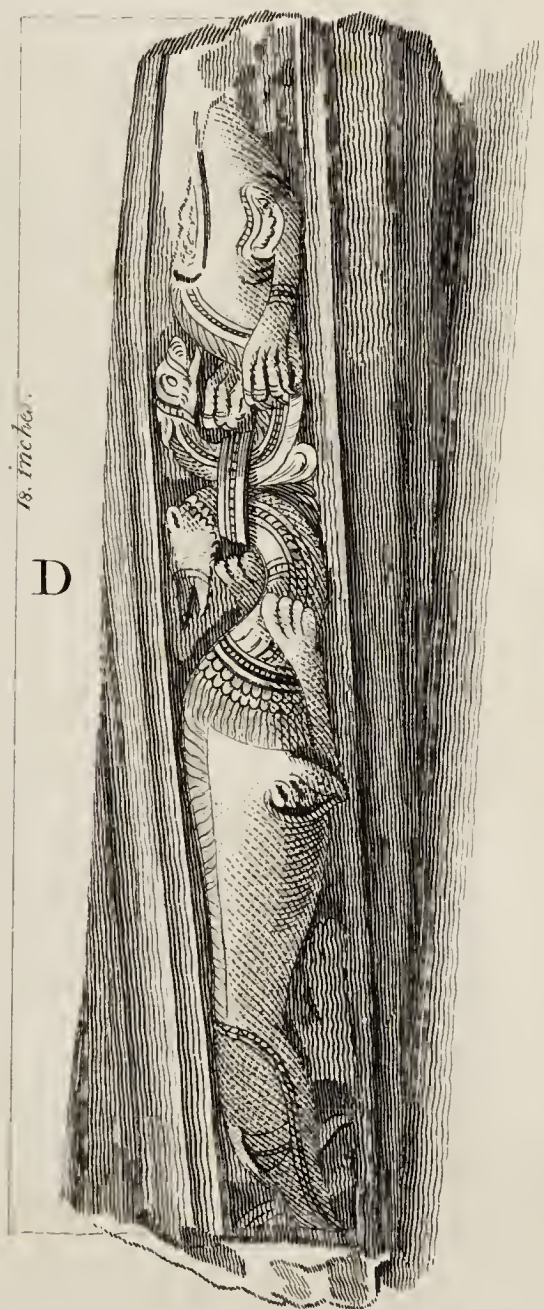
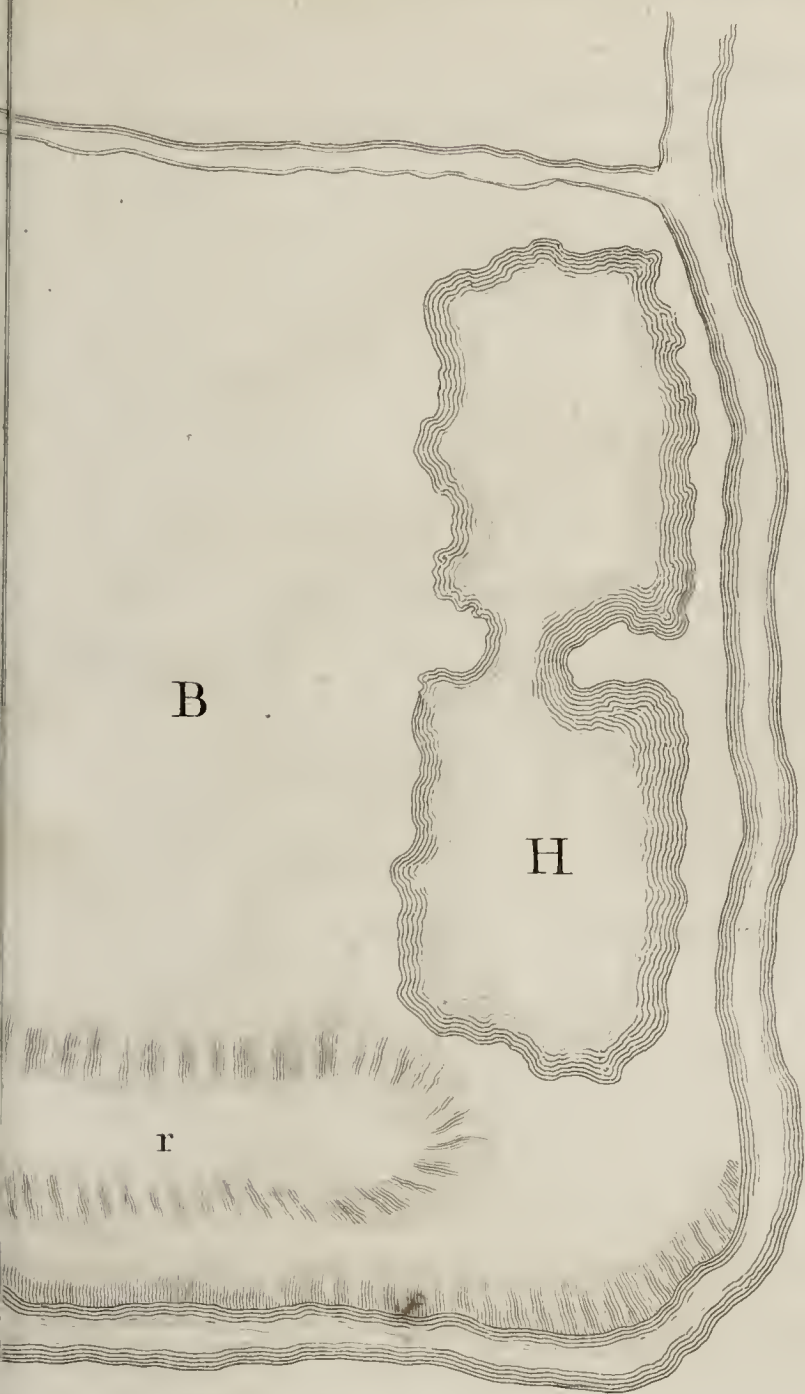




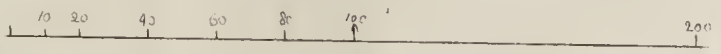
 *To London*

H Y D E P A R K



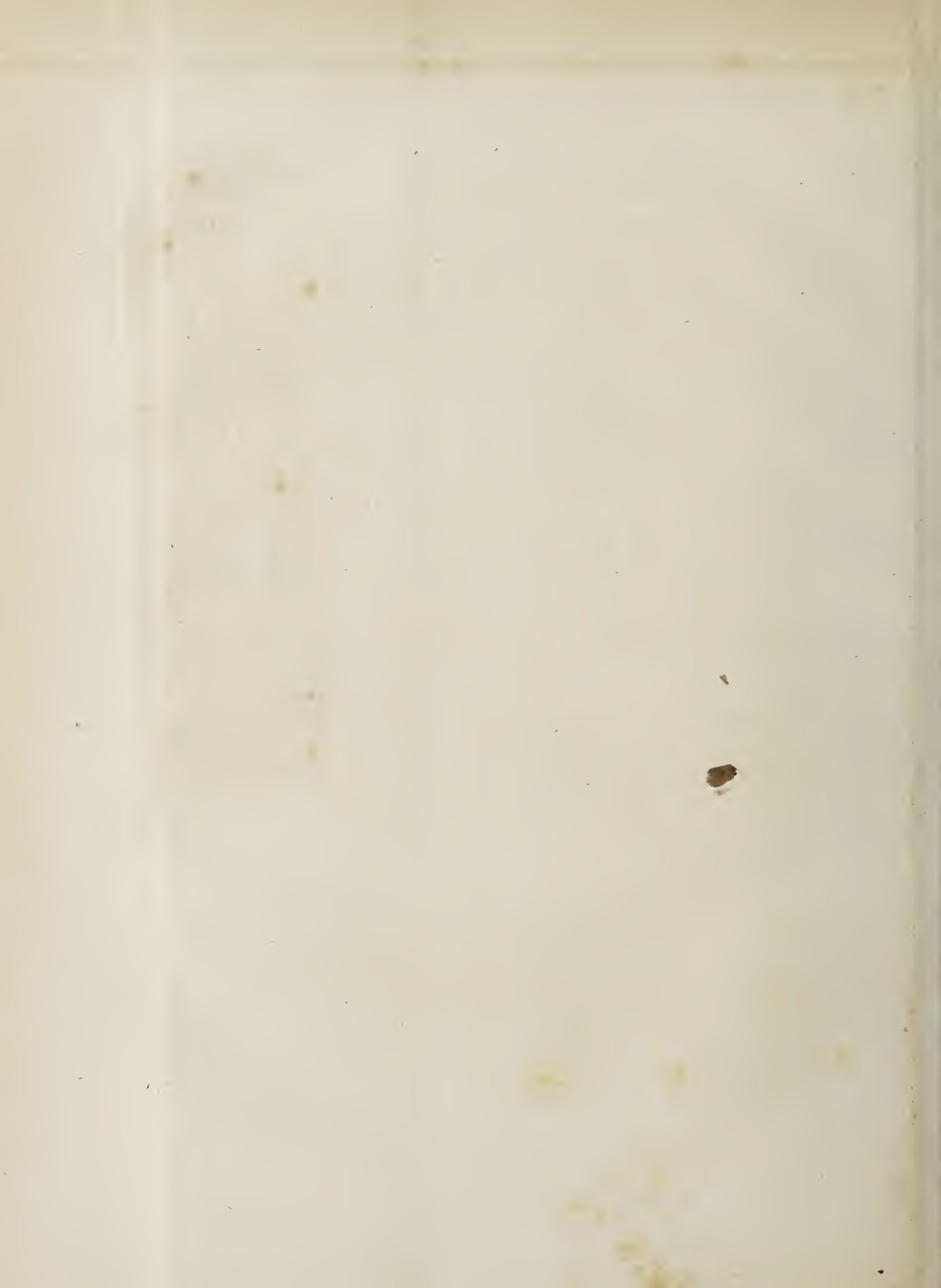


Scale of Feet.



To Winton

E T





At the east-end of the present building the point *a* appeared to him nearly the center of the clay taken from north to south, of which there was about fourteen yards on each side, viz. from *a* to *m* and *m*.

From *a* eastward to *b* he supposed twenty-four yards, and from thence the rubbish and foundations extended some yards farther. About *d* and *d*, there were two paths of clay nearly six feet wide, one ending to the north in a spot in which the clay was laid in a squarish shape, as in *s*, and about which there were also ruins of foundations. This, I conceive, may have been the sacristy; the other path to the south, at the termination of which much rubbish is to be seen (*c*), probably led to the cloisters and apartments of the monks, which in all monasteries were, I believe, uniformly to the south of the church.

About *a* was also found a stone coffin cased with lead both within and without, and containing some bones and remains of garments. The lead in its decayed state sold for two guineas; the bones were thrown about, and the stone coffin broken into pieces. There were two other coffins, and no more, found in this part, which were also for the sake of the garden, in which they lay, broken and buried as low as the spring. At *h* there were remains of a solid basis of masonry, and fragments of several small columns of Purbeck marble. Part of one of these I have obtained. It is ornamented in a spiral direction, with two animals coupled together on one side, and rudely carved flowers on the other. (See Pl. XXII. D) May not this have been part of the high altar, or of the tomb of Alfred near it? Possibly the two other coffins contained the remains of Edward and of queen Alswitha.

Farther west, as in *g g*, many stone coffins were found, and the clay extended to *o o*, which is about three yards from the door of the center building of the gaol; the situation and number of coffins denote

denote this to have been the nave of the church. On the whole, the dimensions, as given me by Mr. Page, coincide with those left us by Leland in his account of this abbey. Further east than *b* were great numbers of stone coffins, and some rather more south, just beyond; but in this part there was no clay; and being beyond the traces of the foundations, we may conclude that it was the church-yard. *B* appears to have been the monks inclosure, and vestiges of buildings are to be discerned in the parts marked *r r r*. The gateway of the abbey building *p*, is the most perfect part remaining of this once flourishing monastery, whose abbot sat in parliament [*e*]. Two heads over this gateway, supposed to represent Alfred and Edward the elder, have been copied by Mr. Carter, but they are much defaced. In the wall at *q* there are other heads and sculptures, with which he has also favoured the public. I have the honour to remain,

Dear Sir,

sincerely your obedient humble Servant,

HENRY HOWARD.

*George Naylor, Esq. York Herald.*

[*e*] In Pl. XXII. *C* is an inclosure filled with remains of the abbey buildings, and is supposed to have been the abbot's part of the monastery. There is scarcely a house in Hyde Street which does not shew some remains of the abbey.

*E.* Scite of the abbey mill. *F.* the mill dam. *G.* the scite of St. Bartholomew's church. *H.* remains of fish-ponds. *PP.* Abbey buildings.



XXIX. *Copy of a curious Record of Pardon in the Tower of London. Communicated by Thomas Astle, Esq. F. R. S. and F. A. S. In a Letter to the Rev. John Brand, Secretary.*

Read March 20, 1800.

DEAR SIR,

*Battersea Rise, March 17, 1800.*

HEREWITH I send you a transcript of a record in the Tower, which contains a pardon for Cecilia Rigeway, who was indicted, at the assizes at Nottingham in 1357, for the murder of her husband, and because she would not plead, sentence was passed upon her, and she was remanded back to prison, where she remained, as the record states, for forty days without sustenance.

What collusion or intercourse might have been between Mrs. Rigeway and the keeper of the prison, must for ever remain a secret. But that she subsisted in prison, for forty days, without meat or drink, was believed to have been by a miraculous interposition in her favour; otherwise this solemn instrument, under the Great Seal of England, would not have passed.

I remain, Dear Sir,

Your most faithful and

obedient Servant,

THOMAS ASTLE.

*To the Rev. Mr. Brand, &c.*

*Pat. 31<sup>o</sup> Edw. III. p. 1. m. 11. A. D. 1357.*

**R**EX. Omnibus ad quos presentes Litere pervenerint Salutem, Sciatis quod cum Cecilia que fuit Uxor Johannis de Ryge-way, nuper indictata de morte ipsius Johannis, viri sui, et de morte illa coram dilectis et fidelibus nostris Henrico Greene, et socijs suis Justiciarijs nostris ad Gaolam nostram Notyngham deliberand. assignat, allocata pro eo quod se tenuit mutam, ad penam suam, extitit adjudicata, ut dicitur, in qua, sine Cibo et Potu in arcta Prifona per quadraginta dies vitam sustinuit, via miraculi, et quasi contra naturam humanam, sicut ex testimonio accepimus fide digno.—Nos ea de causa pietate moti, ad laudem Dei et gloriose Virginis Marie, Matris sue, unde dictum Miraculum processit, ut creditur, De Gratia nostra speciali pardonavimus eidem Cecilie, executionem Judicij predicti, volentes quod eadem Cecilia, a prifona predicta deliberetur et de corpore suo ulterius non sit impetita, occasione Judicij supradicti.—In cujus Rei Testimonium has Literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentis.—Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium *xxv.* Die Aprilis.

Per Breve de privato Sigillo.



XXX. *Copy of an Original Manuscript, entitled, "A Breviate touching the Order and Governmente of a Nobleman's House, &c."* Communicated by the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K.B. P.R.S and F.S.A. [a]

Read March 27, 1800.

"A Breviate touching the Order and Governmente of a Nobleman's house, with the Officers, their places and charge, as particularly appeareth. Vidz.

1605.

*The Office of a Stewarde.*

**F**IRST, the stewarde of houshold is to make all forraine provisions whatsoever, and to see them brought into the house and then to acquainte the comptroller therewith, as his charge.

Hee is further to see what demeanes of his lordes is most meete to bee taken into his handes so well for meddowe, pasture, as earable, and those to bee employed to his lordes best proffitte.

Hee is alsoe to make choice of such baliefes of husbandrie for his lordes proffitte, as shall bee able to buye and sell with good discretione.

Hee is likewise to disburse to the saide bailiefes, all such sommes of monnye, as is to bee bestowede, as well to buye cornne, as cattell, and sheepe, and to direct such groundes, for these cattell and sheepe bought, as by his discretione shal bee thought meete, and the saide cornne to bee deliverede to the yeoman of the garner, whoe

[a] This MS. was purchased by Sir Joseph at the sale of the late Marquis of Donegall's Library.

shal bee accomptable for the redeliverie of the same forth of his chardge.

Hee is likewise to see into all offices, soe well forraine, as at home, that dewe execution may bee donne in their severall places, and if any defaulte bee made, hee is to see it speedelic reformede.

Hee is to receive all sommes of monny of the receavour generall, for the makinge of all provissions, so well ordynarie as extraordynarie, and for reparacions, to pay bills of allowances, and servantes wages, and to disburst for all imprestes, besides his hande is warraunt to the receavour for what sommes soever, for his lordes affaires, and hee is forthwith to acquaint his lorde, so often as convenientlie he maye, with the state of his houshoulde, and of his treasure, and howe it is laide forth, and what hee hath in remayne.

Hee is to make all bargaines and sales, or at the leaste bee made privie thereunto, and also to acquaint his lorde therewith, and to take his lordes opinion therein, and to call the comptroller, or other cappitall officers, and to take their opinions therein, as his assistancke, for his lordes better service to bee donne.

Hee is to see soe well into everie manes desartes, as hee is to make his lorde acquainted therewith, whose honorable minde, is by his stewardes reporte, to recompence good service, so well as to punishe evill, for by that meanes, hee shal bee the better obeyed, when the servantes doe see hee maye soe well rewarde desartes, as punishe offences.

The stewarde and comptroler are to sitt in councell upon any cappitall cause, committed, and for the better assistancke, maye call unto them, or eather of them, what capital officers ells they will make choyce of, for the hearinge such causes, and soe to proceede to reformation if it maye bee, if not, makinge their lorde privie to the faulte comitted, to discharge the partie, or parties, so offendinge, as unwoorthie that place they serve in.



The lorde if hee keepe a hall, then the stewarde and comptroller are to marshall that place, bearinge their white staves in their handes, and to countenance the meate from the surveyinge place, or dresser, to the lordes table, and likewise all other servecies belonginge or apperteyninge whatsoever in that place.

*The Office of a Comptroller.*

The comptroller of houshoulde his charge is to receave from the stewarde, all such provisions, as hee shall sende into the house whatsoever, and those to be bestowed in place convenient by his discretion.

Hee is to make such allowances forthe of those provisions so brought in, as to his discretion shall seeme meete, so well to his lordes table, as all other places to him appointede by his lorde, ells where foever.

Hee is to looke into all offices of chardge, soe well to see what provisions doe wante, and them to provide, and to see them cleanelie kept and proffitablie used, for his lordes honnour and his owne credditt, and if any faulte bee to see the same presentlie reformed.

Hee is to have the clarke of the kitchene at his appointmente, as a man of truste in his absence, to looke unto all his whole chardge; for that all provisions within the house, the comptroller standeth chargeable withall; and so the clarke under him in his absence.

Hee is by his place upon any defaulte made, to comptrolle and punnishe such offences, as in his discretion shall seeme good.

Hee is in the absence of the stewarde to supplie his place, though not in name, yet in power so amplie, as if hee himselfe were in presence touchinge all commaundes.

Hee is only to conferre with the stewarde for the whole estate of  
all

all such affaires, as any way doth, or may concerne the good of of their lorde, by preseruinge him and the houfholde from any danger or ficknes, and to avoide all superfluous chardge.

Hee is to take the weckelie accompte of the clarke of the kittchene, so well by jurnall, as the cators accompt or chardge, and all domestical provitions whatsoever besides, hee is too see into them, where any wantes are, that those maye bee suppliede.

Hee is to augmente or deminifhe any allowances, as occasion servith, in what place soever in his discretion, as when there bee strangers or none.

Hee is to see that there bee inventories indentede made and deliverede to everie officer in the house, whereby all necessaries bought in by the stewarde, may bee dewly accountede for quarterlie, and all such necessaries as bee wornne and decayede, to dischardge the offecer thereof, by the forsaide inventories under his hannde.

Hee is to see into the seasonnes of the yeare, that what first reneweth, and is most rare and daintie, may bee gott, and that choice of those necessarie provitions bee provided for with varietie of dressinge for the lordes diete.

#### *The Office of a Surveyor.*

The surveyor is by warrannde under his lordes hannde, to make generall survey of all such lanndes, as the lorde hath wheresoever in any place, and to make a perfecte booke thereof, explyninge in the saide booke by perticular, the nature and quallitic of everie severall parte; vidz. devidinge carable from pasture, pasture from meddowe, meddowe from woode, and woodes to bee divided as they bee in severall natures, eather sherewoode, or copps, for that their commodities doe arise severallie.

Hee



Hee is alsoe to deliver a perfect rentall or booke to the receavour gennerall, signed under his hannde, whereby hee maye bee the better able, to receave his dewe receiptes, and the receavour no further to bee chardged by the saide surveyour, eather by booke or rentall.

Hee is to take by his office a secreate survey of all his lordes landdes, where any commoditie, or proffitt may acerue, or growe unto his lorde, and to looke into all perticular farmes, so well in lease, as out of lease, where by his knowledge, the lorde may make his commoditie or proffitts thereof, as ocaasione shall arise from tyme to tyme.

Hee is likewise to give notice to his lorde and his officers what commodities maye arise, and by perticular howe; if any such thinge bee founde within his survey, as by woodefales, quarrells of stonne, or slayte, or mynnes of leade, copper, or tynne, or title of gaine whatsoever, that order may bee taken therein, at the audite, for the better commoditie and proffitte to the lordes use.

Hee is alsoe to attende the audite to present there before the auditor and othe officers, any further commoditie that maye arise to his lorde, whereby warrannde maye bee there grauntede in that place, that such warrannde may bee the nexte audite after called for, to see what bennifitte is made therby to the lordes use.

Hee is to make rentalls out of his booke of survey, and those to bee signed under his hannde, and delivered to the balieffes, to whome they severallie doe belonge, the better hee shal bee able to chardge the saide bailefes at the audite touchinge their accomptes.

#### *The Office of a Receavore.*

The receavore is to receave from the surveyour a booke of the rentes of all mannors, lordshipps, demeanes, hamelettes, farmes, or  
any

any other commodities arising within his office of survey, which any way concerneth the lordes profite, whereby hee maye the better call to those balieffes and officers for such rentes and sommes of monye, as are due unto his lorde, from tyme to tyme, and soe the receavour is to be charged by the booke signede under the handde of the surveyour.

Hee is to acknowledge a booke of what sommes hee doth receive for his lorde of everie perticular personne, and for what cause, or title it is, with the tyme and day of the receipte, that his accompte may the more playnlie appeare.

Hee is to make known to his lorde what sommes hee hath received from tyme to tyme, and to receive warranthe from the lorde under his handde, for the impressinge of all such sommes of monye, as is his lordships pleasure shal bee disbursed, unto vidz. The stewart, the comptroller, ridinge stewart, for the tyme beinge, the gentleman of the horse, or any ells at the pleasure of the lorde, which saide warranthe is a discharge for the receavo<sup>r</sup>. at the audite, for the passinge his accompt the better.

Hee is to acknowledge under his handde by bill, or otherwise, to all such as hee doth receive monneye of, for the use of the lorde which is for their better discharge to the auditor, they standinge accomptable for their receipts so well as the receavo<sup>r</sup>. doth for his.

Hee is to bee at everie audite for the advouchinge of his receiptes, and the charginge of all such personnes, as hee hath imprested any mony unto by warranthe, or otherwise, and hee is only to be discharged by the auditor.

He is by vertue of his place, to directe his letters to all bailefes, or any others whome hath any receiptes or sommes due to the lords use, to bringe in those and such sommes at such tyme, and what place as hee shall bee, by the receavo<sup>r</sup>. appointede, and those his letters bee sufficient warranthe to the parties in that behalfe.

Hee



Hee is to fitte at the stewardest or comptrollers table, and to have his chamber and office in the house, with the allowanncce of man and horffe, and to keepe a table if occasion serve, by the title of receav<sup>r</sup>. or treasuror.

*The Office of the Gentleman Usher.*

The gentleman usher his place and chardge is, to governe all above staires, or in the presence of his lorde, but not if his lord keepe a halle, for then the masters of houshould, as stewart and comptroller hath to doe there, and the gentleman usher but to keepe the place, and to attende his lorde in any perticular service, but in the hall to have noe commannde, for by order of antiquitie the marshalinge of that place belongeth to the officers of the houshoulde, as aforefaide.

The lorde whoe beeinge an earle or upwardes, if hee bee servide in staitte, hee is to have in the greate chamber a cloathe of estate accordinge to his place, vidz. an earle, to the pummell of his chaire, a marquesse to the seate of his chaire, a duke to within a foote of the grounde, placede in the upper ende thereof, with chaire, cushinge, and stooles sutable thereunto, and at dinner, or supper, is to have his seate in the midst of the table, a littell above the salte, his face beeinge to the whole vewe of the chamber, and oposite to him, the carver is to stande, and at the upper hannde of the carver, the countis, or ells to fitte above the carver of the same side hee is of, oposite to her lorde; and in this service it is to bee notede, that the lordes messe is to bee placed above the salte, and his service of meate to bee presentede before him in order, as it is servide up, and the best sorte of stranngers are to bee placede at the upper ende of the table, above the lorde and ladie, as the principall place, and

those so placed, the carver is to have a speciall respecte unto, for those beneath the salte, if any such bee so placed, the carver is not to deale withall, but by direction from the lorde or ladye, as at their pleasure in curtesie.

He is to appointe a fuer unarmede for the bordes ende, if there bee any, but noe carver, and that place to bee well attended upon, by good and diligente wayters, and their meate to bee broken up at a side table.

Hee is to see the cup bearers attend their places of their lorde and ladies service, and when they call for wyne, or beere, to serve them with takinge of fayer, on their knee, in humble and dewetifull sorte.

Hee is to see the greate chamber bee fynne and neatlie kepte, that there wante noe necessarie utencies therein, and to commaunde the yeomen ushers of the greate chamber, to execute their directions whatsoever, for their lordes service, to bee donne with speede, for in that place there must bee noe delaye, because it is the place of state, where the lorde keepeth his presence, and the eyes of all the best sorte of strangers bee there lookers on; that what faulte beeing there committed, bee never so littell, sheweth more then in any place els wheresoever, and therefore a speciall respecte, care and dilligens, is to bee had therein, for that place before all others is the cheefe and principall staite in the house, for service there not dewelie and comlie donne, disgraceth all the rest in any place els, as littell woorth, what chardge of entertaynement soever bee bistowede, wherefore the gentleman ushers is to take a speciall care herein for their credde fake and honor of that place.

Hee is to commaunde, and to have at commaundemente, all the gentlemen and yeomen wayters, and to see into their behaviors and fashion, that it bee civill, comelie and well, and if any defecte bee, in any of them, they are to instructe them in curteous manner,  
which



which is both good for them, and bettereth the lordes service; and if any of those faide wayters doe obstinatelie refuse to amende such faultes and deformities, then the gentleman usher is to acquainte the principall officers of houshoulde therewith, whoe is to reforme such defectes in them, or to dischardge them their lordes service, as men not woorthie to serve in that place.

Hee is to give notice to all wayters, that they give noe care to table taulke, for that withdraweth the eie and minde from respecte of their service, for the eye muste bee still movinge about the service of the table, that if any wantes bee, they maye with speede bee suppliede.

Hee is alsoe to attende the greate chamber before and after meales, and to have a gentleman wayter, with a yeoman, or two, to be reddie at his appointment, for any service to bee donne, for the gentleman ushers attending in that place, and at those tymes, is to give enterteynemente to all strangers, and not to departe the place but uppon specielle cause.

Hee is to give notice to his ladies gentlewomen, that they attende in the greate chamber for the better furnishinge the same, vidz. from nyne of the clocke untill aleven, and then to attende their ladie to the chappell, or prayer, and from one of the clocke after dynner, untill three in the afternoone, and then they maye departe, if there bee noe gentlewomen strangers to bee enterteyned, untill five of the clocke; that supper bee towards, and after supper so lonnge as their ladie is in presence, and noe longer.

Hee is to appointe before dinner and supper, cupbearer, carver, and sewer, and to goe with them to the ewerye, and there to washe their handes together, and the gentleman usher is to see the yeoman of the ewerye, first to arme the carver, and then the sewer; that donne, he is to countenance the carver from the ewerye to the table, where after dewtifull obedience made, the carver is to take

fayes, of the breade, and falte, of the lord and ladies spoones, knyves, trenchers, and napkines, and to give those fayes to the pantler, who is to attend the chamber to that purpose, and then the carver is there to staye, all dynner tyme, and to carve and serve in that place at his discretion.

Hee is to see the cupp bearer, carver, and sewer, for that day, to be placede at his table, next to himselfe, the carver to bee on the right hannde, and the sewer on the lefte, the cuppbearer next to the carver.

The sewer is to goe from the ewery throughe the hall, wher the yeoman usher of that place is to attende his cominge, and then and there to commannde all gentlemen, and yeoman wayters, to attende the sewere, whoe with him is to goe to the surveyinge place or dresser, where the clarcke of the kittchine is to attende him, and there the sewere is to call for his lorde, and so to give fayes to the clarke of the kittchine, and the master cooke, of everie dishe that is servede to the lordes messe, and from thence to countenance the meate to the lordes table, where the carver is to give the sewer and the bearer of everie dishe a faye, of the meate hee beareth; at the first course standinge, and the seconde course, kneelinge of one knee, and the sewer is to stay by the carver, as his assistante, till dinner and supper bee donne, and not to departe but for countenancinge the courses of meate.

Hee is to see the lordes table bee not unfurnished of wayters, and if it bee, then to sende for them presentlie, and not to suffer them to goe from thence at their pleasures, but to attende unlesse the gentleman usher doe appointe otherwise, for their lordes service.

Hee is to have checke rolles, of all the gentlemen and yeomen wayters, thereby to instructe them the better, so well the carvers, sewers, cuppbearers, as also gentlemen and yeomen wayters, in their duties of service.

The



The gentleman usher is to have a speciall respecte howe to place all such the best sorte of strangers, at the lordes table, least by wronging any in such sorte, discontentment maye growe, and if hee doubt in his owne knowledge, hee is to take the opinion of the lorde, for the better avoidinge any such wronge; and soe in like sorte for their lodgings.

Hee is to make allowanncce of meate out of the greate chamber to such as bee allowed, and by their discretion to see, what well maye bee reservede and kepte coulde, and that sent to the clarke of the kittchine, to bee servide againe to the lordes table at his discretion.

Hee is to take his place for dinner and supper at the bordes ende, the better to see through the whole table, the behaviour of all the servantes, and where any wants bee, to have them supplied, and that there bee not talkinge, neather any discourse amongst them, but to bee quiette while meales bee donne, for loud talke at that tyme, and in that place, in all houses of order, is accompted barbarus and rusticall, and therefore by them to bee especiallie avoided and looked into.

Hee is, when the lorde doth ride, to present unto him a check role, whereby the lorde maye appointe whoe shall attende him that journie, which donne, those names are to bee given to the gentleman of the horffe, that hee may furnish them with horffe accordinglie.

*The Office of the Gentleman of the Horffe.*

The gentleman of the horffe is to have a note deliverede him by the stewarde of houshoulde of all such horfes, and mares, as belongeth to his lorde, and them to devide in sortes, vidz. greate horffe by themselves with their names, the geldinges or hackneyes,  
for

for the lorde or ladies saddell, by themselves, coach horffe or mares, by themselves, the litter horse by themselves, the traveling geldinges, for servantes, by themselves, thus sortede, then saddells and furniture by him is to bee provided, and likewise for the furniture of the coach or litter, with horffes and furniture fitte for the same.

Hee is to give the yeoman of the horffe chardge of all these above saide, by inventorie under his hannde, and so the yeoman to stande chardgede under him and by him.

Hee is to knowe of the stewartde of housholde what haye, litter, provinder, or pasture, shall bee providedde for those horffes, and whome to bee callede on, for the same, as tyme shall require.

Hee is to directe the yeoman of the horffe, that they bee allwayes well shodde, and if any channce to bee sicke or sore, that the farrior bee presentlie to take the cure of them.

Hee is to buye all such horffes, geldinges, and mares, so well for the lordes saddell, as for the stode, and to receive mony of the stewartde for the same; and for all stode mares to knowe and conferre with the stewartde, what place and grounde is most meete for them, for the better preservacion of his lordes breede.

Hee is to attende his lorde taking horffe, to helpe him up and downe, and to bee allwayes neare his personne, so lonnge as hee is on horffe backe, and to see his lordes spare horffe bee ever neare and reddie uppon call, likewise to see the footemen bee reddie to attende on eather side.

Hee is to keepe a note in a booke when everie mare is coverede, and with what horffe, and that they bee carefullie looked unto before they foale and after.

Hee is to see all the horffes and mares under his chardge to bee well lookede unto, and that there bee so littell waste, as maye bee committede, for the yeoman allwayes and the gromes



bee at his choice, and therefore hee is to anfwere all faultes in that place committede.

Hee is, if the lorde ride, to see all the horffes bee well and carefullie lookede unto, in their travill, and to receave monye for their chardges of the ridinge stewart, and to deliver the saide stewart in note, the perticular charges of everie nighte, under his hannde, and foe the gentleman of the horffe to bee dischardgede.

Hee is to give notice to the lorde of all such horffes, and mares, as bee unfervifable, that his pleasure may bee knowne therein; eather to bee foulde, or made away, for they bee a wast chardge to keepe, beeing not servifable.

*The Office of the Learned Steward.*

The learnede stewart is to receave from the lorde, or by his apointmentte, all courte roles, of what courtes soever, as the lordes pleasure is hee shall keepe, and the saide stewart is with the assistants of the jurie, to fesse fynnes upon offenders, throughe faultes comitted by them; and such fynnes, with other perquesites of courtes, to bee streated and delivered, under his hannde to the bayliefe, whoe is to make lewe thereof, and to paye such sommes of mony, foe levyed, to the receavour generall, as parcell of the lordes proffittes dewe unto him.

Hee is to make knowne to the auditour, what proffittes doe arise by the courtes, that thereby the auditour may chardge the balieffes in those places, touchinge the dewe accomptes to their lorde, which likewise is to bee donne, under the hannde of the learned stewart.

*The Office of an Auditor.*

The auditor being the laste of all officers, is to bee judge betwixte the lorde and his accomptants, and to deale trulie for and betweene all parties, and upon the determinac̃on of his audite, to presente to his lorde by booke or breviatē, all his receiptes, expences, imprestes, whatsoever, with the remaines of monye, if any bee; and hee is to have his diet with bouge of allowance into his chamber, for thence hee is not to departe, before hee have endede his audite, the chardge and truste beinge so greate, so well betwixte the lorde and his accomptantes, as betwixt partie and partie, hee is to have his man allowede in the house, his horffes at the lordes charge, and his fee paid before his departure, and to attende twice a yeare, or yearlie, to keepe audite, at the pleasure of the lorde.

The key of the evidence house to bee kepte by the lorde himselfe, and none to come there but in the lordes presence, or whome hee shall speciallie committe truste unto for that tyme beinge.

The chaplines are to bee placed at the stewardest or comptrollers borde, and in their absence with the gentlewomen.

The secretaries are to bee placed at the stewardest or comptrollers table, and in their absence with the gentleman usher, and to have place nexte the carvers and sewers.

*The Clarcke of the Kitchine, his Office.*

The clarcke of the kitchine is to see into all inferior offices in the house, at the leaste once a weake; and is speciallie to bee at the direction of the comptroller, whoe by his vew into those places,  
may



may make knowne to the comptroller, or in his absence to the steward, of all defectes, if any bee, and those defectes supplied, hee is in the absence of the comptroller, to enter them into an inventorie.

Hee is to keepe a leager or journall booke, for the notinge therein weakelie, the perticular expences of everie office, and that booke to bee summede up, at the weakes ende, whereby the lorde maye uppon call see the weake, month, and quarterlie chardge, and so consequentlie throughe the whole yeare.

Hee is to receave all provisions of spice made by the steward, or comptroller, and those to keepe; fruite, as currants, reasons, proynes, dates, &c. in some reasonable moyste place, for ells they will drie awaye, and the drie spices, as fugar, fynnamon, &c. to bee kepte drie, for that moyster will decay and greatlie waste them, and soe become in tyme not serviceable.

Hee is to see into the ewery, so well to take the expences as the remayne of lights, of all fortes, and to see the yeoman doe tallie with the chaundler, for those lightes soe broughte in.

Hee is to see into the feller, that the wynnes bee carefullie kepte, and the plate belonginge to the same well lookede unto, and once a weeke to gage such wynes, as hath bene that weeke drawne of, and the expences thereof to sett downe in his journall with remaine.

Hee is to see into the pautre, to take the remaine of breade, weakelie, and alsoe what is there spent, and that to sett donne in his leager booke with remaine.

Hee is to see into the butterie, what beare and hogshedes are of store, and what spent, and that to recorde in his leager; and if any caske wante, to see them providede for presentlie, and to keepe his office private to himselfe, and noe carrousinge or drinkinge to bee in that office.

Hee is to see into the wette and drie larders, what provisions there bee, and of those severall natures, there beinge, to drawe forthe a proportion for to bee deliverede to the cookes, as well for their lordes diett, as the houshoulde, for dinner and supper, and soe donne, to acquannte the comptroller therewith, that hee in his discretion may allowe or dislike, as hee thinketh good, and to see his office cleanlie kepte.

Hee is to see the cookes dresse the meate clenlie and well, and to see they keepe those under them in good order; the kittchine sweete and cleanlie, and that there bee noe wafte made therein by fier, or any provision ells whatsoever, and that the cookes keepe the kittchine doores shutte, and none to come into their offices, speciallie they beinge in hannde with their lordes meate, neather in the pastree, but to call at the dresser for what they wante, and there to receave answere.

Hee is to see into the baker and bruer their offices, that they keepe their proportion so well of breade, as of beare, and what corne they weekelie receave forth of the garner, and to take their remaines.

Hee is to see into the garner weekelie, and what corne there is, of all fortes, so well of store as boughte, and that it bee sweete and good, and that to sett downe in his leager, for then the wantes may bee sone seene into, and so the sonner providede for.

Hee is to see into the slaughterman's chardge, that oxe skinnes and sheepe skins bee lookede unto; and the tallowe and suett bee safelie laide, and that the slaughterman doe tallie with the tanner for oxe skines, and with the glover for sheepe skines, and with the chandler for tallowe and suett, and so by the carcasses spent in the leager, to chardge all these abovesaide.

Hee is to see into the scollerie, that the vessell bee well and clenlie kepte, and that the scollerie man doe after everie meale ga-



ther up the silver vessell, to bee fuer of his number and weekelie to gather up his peuter at the farthest, and that the office bee not, without vinigèr, vergis and mustarde, for to that place those fauces doe belonng to bee kepte.

Hee is to imprest unto the cator daily or weekelie, such mony, as in his discreçon shal bee thought meete, and by his derectiones, for what natures to buy, beinge ordinarie, and those to bee sett downe under the clarckes hannde.

Hee is to see into all offices under his owne, and if any faulte bee, hee is in his discretion to give the parties offendinge warninge thereof to amende, if they doe not, to make such faulte knowne to the officers of houshoulde for them to looke into, and so the clarcke to bee dischardgede.

Hee is to attend at the surveyinge place, or dresser, everie meale, and to see good order bee kepte, and the lorde from thence to bee honorable servede, for that place belongeth only to him and the governmente thereof.

Hee is to have for his allowance by fee, all goate, kidde, veale, and lambè skinnes, whatsoever, through the yeare, shall bee broughte in, and the slaughterman to accompte with him for them.

*The Yeoman of the Ewerie, his Office.*

Hee is to receave his chardge from the stewarde, or comptroller, vidz. plate, as basonnes, eweres, and candellstickes, and in like sorte of peuter, with all fortes of lights, soc well waxe as others, and all suche naperie, as is fittinge for the lordes table, vidz. table cloathes, with towells, napkins, and cubberd cloathes, of the same sucte, eather damaske, deaper, canvas, or hollande, and arminge towells for the carver and sewer.

Hee is alsoe to arme the carver, fouldinge his arminge towell full three fyngers broade or more, and that to putt about his necke, bringinge both sides of the towell even downe to his girdell, and puttinge them under his girdell faste, a littell waye, the endes are to hanng from thence right downe. His lordes and ladies napkines to bee laide faire, on his lefte shoulde, his owne napkine on his lefte arme, and so the carver beeinge armede, the gentleman usher is to present him to the table from the ewerie. Hee is to arme the sewer with a towell, of the like fould, to the carver, and is to putt it baudericke wise, about his necke, with a knotte thereof, so lowe as his knee, and both the endes of the towell to hanng lower at the leaste by a foote then the knotte, and so hee beeinge armede, to goe to the surveyinge place or dresser, for the lordes meate. Hee is to attende at the ewerie dinner and supper, to deliver forth and to receive againe, napkines and trenchers to and from the greate chamber.

*The Yeoman of the Seller.*

Hee is to receive all such wyynes as cometh in, and to see them stowede and well vented, from takinge aire, and to have respecte to such plaite, as hee standeth chardged withall, and to knowe what every parcell of plaite will conteyne, by measure, the better shall hee accompte for his dischardge truelie to bee made.

*The Yeoman Usher of the Greate Chamber.*

Hee is to execute the gentleman usher's derections, and to see the greate chamber everie day early swepte and neatlie kepte, with fier to bee made at the seafone of the yeare, or ells the chemney to  
bee



bee garnishede with greene bowes, or flowers, and hee is at meale tymes to see that if wayters doe wante in the greate chamber, to goe for them to attende the lordes table, and his place is to attende at the dore, and if their bee greate receipte of stranngers, as upon greate assemblies, plaies, or such like, to lett in none into the chamber but such as in his discretion shal bee thought meete.

*The Yeoman Usher of the Halle.*

Hee is to see the hall bee clenlie kepte, end to attend the covering of the stewarde and comptrollers table, with cubbarde and other tables in the halle, to bee in like sorte furnishede, and his place before and after meales is to sett at the upper ende of the halle, or to walke up and downe the hie space there, and to enterteyne all stranngers, and if there bee any noyce to still it, for there is noe place of hie talke to bee suffered, and especialle at meale tymes, and then hee is to keepe the middell of the halle, after he hath placede everie one in their degree, and call to the pantler for breade, and the buttler for beare, after they bee servide with meate, and dinner or supper donne, to bee attended by his groome or amno<sup>r</sup>. as under him, to helpe to take awaye, and all broken meate in that place to bee putt into the amnorie, and from thence to bee bistowed on the poore by the amnor and porter.

*The Yeoman of the Pantrie.*

Hee is to receave all breade from the baker, and to tallie with him for the same, and to enter the dailie chardge what is spennte, at the weekes ende, into the leage<sup>r</sup>. booke, with the remaine in like sorte, and to carrie the salte with the carvinge knife, clenfinge  
knife,

knife, and forcke, and them to place upon the table in dewe order, with the breade at the falte, and then to cover the breadè, with a fynne square clouth of cambricke, called a coverpaine (which is to bee taken of, the meate beinge placede on the table, and the lorde fett) by the carver and deliverede to the pantler.

*The Yeoman of the Butterie.*

Hee is to receave all beare from the bruer, and to see it well and safelie stopte, with claye and bay-falte, and to see that the caske bee safe, and tithe from leakinge, and is to make choice of one tunne at the least, for the lordè himself, forth of everie bruinge, and that for him not to be drawne much paste the mide barre: hee is to avoid caroufinge, and to keepe his office private to himselfe, and to call the bruer to assiste him in tyme of neede, as when there bee stranngers or otherwise.

*The Yeoman of the Wardrobes.*

Hee is to receave his chardge from the stewartde, or comptroller, vidz. the furniture of all the chambers, in the house, as they bee furnishe, and whatsoever ells is in the warderobe, and all these things to keepe well, and see there bee noe defectes in any of them, but to bee presentlie amendede, unlesse it bee joyners woorke, as tables, stooles, bedsteedes, etc. which hee is to cause a joyner to mende; and to see there bee necessaries in store, for the mendinge of any faultes may happen, as filk, and thredde, of fundrie collers, cords and gerth webb, and to see the chambers and all necessaries belonging to them, bee sweet and neatlie kepte, and for ordinarie chambers for servanntes, to apointe in his owne discretion. Hee is

to



to bee chardged with all ordinarie sheetes, and pillowbers; as for the finest forte, hee is call for such to the ladie, or whom shee pleaseth shall deliver them forth, for such strangers as in their callinge they bee fitt for; hee is further to see as occasion serveth, that all his beddes, bojesters, and pillowes, with all the rest of furniture for beddinge, be airede, and beaten, and that there bee noe duste in them, nether any mothes bredde, which both is a greate spoile to stufte, but in that case dried wormewoode is very good, and ofte turninge and airinge as abovesaide.

*The Yeoman of the Horffe.*

Hee is to take his chardge from the gentleman of the horffe, which is to have by inventorie all the horffes, geldinges, and mares, by name, so well for the stooode, as for the saddell, withall the furniture belonginge to the stable whatsoever, and is carefullie to look unto his chardge, soe well those horffes at grasse, as in the houffe; and if any of them channce to bee sicke, or hurtt, to acquainte the gentleman of the horffe therewith, that hee may take order therein; and in his absence the yeoman is to looke into all and everie those faultes, to see remedied, so well as if the gentleman of the horffe were in place. Hee is likewise in his absence to apointe all such horffes, for the lordes service, in his discretion, and to see the gromes doe their dewtie; everie groome to kepe two greate horffes and foure geldinges, which hee maye well doe in the stable.

*The Office of the Cookes.*

They are to bee directed whollie by the clarke of the kittchine, for the lordes diett, and the houshoulde, and to bee respectife and  
carefull

carefull of dresseing their lordes meate, for that nothings preserveth his lordes health more then the clenlie and wholesome dresseing the sayd meate, and they to bee private, and none to bee by, or privie to the usage therof, but the clarke of the kittching, the stewarde, or comptroller, therefore they are to keepe their offices, vidz. the kittchine, pastree, and boylinge place, onlie to themselves, the better they shall attend their service to the lorde, for if any thing bee amisse, the blame is theirs, wherefore the kittchine dore is to bee kepte lockte, that none bee there to trouble them, nor hanginge over the meate, which is most uncomly and dangerous. They are to see those under them to keepe the utences of that place neate and cleanlie, and noe waste of fier, or other wayes to bee committed.

*The Yeoman of the Larder.*

Hee is to receive his provisions from the cator. and slaughter man, vidz. beefes, muttuns, veales, lambe, and what ells. Hee is to receive all cattie whatsoever, as butter, egges, creame, milke, hearbes, salte, oatemeale, fishe, and foule, that the cator bringeth in beinge deade, and to see those things within his office to bee sweete and well kepte, and all other provisions brought in, fittinge to his chardge, hee to deliver to the cookes by the drection of the clarke of the kittchine, and all such provisions as bee spent, that day, at night to be entred into the leager, by the clarke for his discharge. Hee is to see the salte provisions of all sortes, of fish and powdered flesh, to bee carefullie looked unto, as belonginge to his chardge, and soe as these withall the rest bee spent, to bee discharged by the clarcke of the kittchine his entrie into the leager or journall.



*The Yeoman of the Garner.*

Hee is to receave all manner of grayne, vidz. wheate, rye, barlie, mault, oates, beanes, peafe, and fetches, fo well from the bailieffe of the husbandrie, beinge of store, as forraine provifion bought, and all fuch grayne carefullie to looke unto, that heatinge spoile it not, wherefore it muft bee often turned, and speciallie wheate, and when any of that graine fhall bee delivered forth of the garner, for the lordes use, to the baker, or bruer, then is it to be sifted and clenfed from all duft, and likewise the maulte, and hee is to deliver to the stable all fuch provinder, as the lorde alloweth for his horffe, and to tallie with the yeoman of the horffe, for his difcharge, and in like manner to tallie with all thofe hee receaveth any grayne of for his lordes use, and for the deliverie in like forte.

*The Office of the Yeoman Porter.*

Hee is to looke to the gates continuallie, and that none come in, or out thereat, but fuch as bee in his difcretion meete; and if ther bee countrie people, that woulde fpeake with any in the houle, hee is to acquainte them withall, and thofe to ftay eather at the gate, or in the porter's lodge, untill hee, whom they woulde fpeake withall, doe come to them, and foe to bee difpatchede. Likewise to locke the gates before dinner, and fupper, or beefore prayer, and to lett none come in, but fuch as hee fhall thincke good to doe, and foe locke the gates againe, the lorde beinge at dinner or fupper, not to bee openede but upon speciall occation, and to locke them up, when it groeth darcke.

Hee is to keepe gates and the courtes clenlie and handfome, for

hee is the truste of the house, by his carefull lockinge and dilligent lookinge to his chardge; and his office is the place where all cappitall offenders are to bee committed unto, by the lorde or his officers, duringe their pleasures.

*The Office of the Yeoman Baker.*

Hee is to receave his corne from the yeoman of the garner, by tallie, and that to deliver the miller, and to see it bee sweete and well grounde, and to make thereof such proportion of manchett, cheate, and ranchett, as the officers of houshoulde in their discretion shall apointe, and that rate to houlde, as hee shall bee commaunded, and no longer, and he is to assiste the pantler in tyme of neede, as occasion serveth.

*The Office of the Yeoman Bruer.*

Hee is to receave in like manner his maulte, with the heade corne, from the yeoman of the garner, by tallie, and soe to deliver it to the miller, from whom receavinge it well grounde, and not to smale, for if soe it bee, hee shall neither brue so much beare thereof, nor so good; and is to make such proportion thereof, as the officers of houshoulde shall appointe, and that to keepe, as hee shall bee directed, from tyme to tyme. Hee is to see his office cleane and well kepte, and as occasion servith, to see into the butterie howe the hogesheades bee there couched and stopped, with claye and salte, for the better preservinge the beare; and if there bee greate repaire of stranngers, hee is to assiste the butler at such tymes.



*The Yeoman of the Scollerie his Office.*

Hee is to receave his chardge from the clarke or comptroller, vidz. silver and peuter vessell, of all sortes, and that the silver vessell bee after everie meale gathered togeather, that hee have his whole nomeber; and if hee wante any of them, to inquire for them, and to acquante the clarcke therewith, for his better assistantes therein, and likewise his peuter everie other daie, at the leaste. Hee is too have his vessell cleane and well kepte, that they may be reddie at calle for the lordes service, and not to bee dressinge them when the lorde is to bee servide, for the vessell cominge hotte from the water they bee clenfed in, and presentlie to bee servide, is neather good nor wholesome; and is to see that the fauces in his charge bee good and servicable, vidz. viniger, verges, and mustarde.

*The Catore his Chardge.*

Hee is to receave monye of the clarke weekelie, or otherwise, as occasion serveth, and is to receave a note in writinge from the clarke, what hee shall buye for ordynarie provisions. Hee is to inquire and looke for in the countrie, as hee travelleth, what dainties there bee, as younge chickines, pidgeons, or such like, at the first comminge of them, and likewise for fowle and fishe, of all sortes, accordinge to the feasonne of the yeare, and to bee acquainted with such foullers and fishers, as bee the best takers of foule and fishe, to bee accostomede with them, so shall hee bee the best servide, and before others; and to have a speciall care that such dead foule and fishe, as hee buyeth, bee newe taken, sweete and goode, for ells it is not serviceable, but monye losse, so biftowede. Hee is to accompte with the clarcke, as occasion servith, and to take his directions from him.

*The Slaughter Man's Charge.*

Hee is to receave of the balieffe or storer, by the drection of the stewarde, all such beaves, muttoms, veales, lambes, or kiddes, and those to kill and dresse faire, and clenlie, the oxefkines and sheepefkines, to bee safely laide, that the tanner may receave the oxefkines, and the glover the sheepfkines, and both of them to be tallied with by the slaughterman. Hee is to see the tallowe of the oxen, and the fuit of the sheepe, be safely kepte, and to be delivered to the chaundler, by the weight, and to bee tallied for in like sorte as the other; the calves and lambes skinnes bee fees to the clarcke of the kittchine; the inmeates, as tonnges, feet, tripes, calves heades and feete, with lambes heades and purtenancis, are to bee called for, by the clarcke of the kittchine. Hee is to keepe his office clenlie.

Heere followeth a Monthlie Table, with a Diatorie belonging thereunto, of all such provisions as bee in seafone through the whole yeare.

Januarie, 1605.

*These bee the provisions for this month, beginning the 1st of Januarie.*

Grosse provisions for this month.

Braune	Beefe	Baconn.
Muttone	Veale	Porcke
Pigge	Lambe	Rabbetts
Hare	Dowe	Hinde

These



These Foules bee nowe in seafone.

Bustarde	Crayne	Swanne
Goose	Storcke	Hernne
Hernne	Shoveller	Bitter
Egrett	Brue	Mallarde
Widgeon	Curlewe	Cudberduce
Curlewiake	Gull	Cullver
Turkie	Peacoke	Caponne
Phefannte	Henne	Godwite
Puett	Redshanke	Ree
Bayninge	Knotte	Dotterell
Ruffe	Blankett	Teale
Plover	Stockdoves	Woodcocke
Snipe	Indecoke	Plover
Partreges	Quales	Fellfaire
Larckes	Sparrows	Finshes.

These Fishe bee nowe in seafone.

Linge	Codde	Sturgeon
Tunny	Porpoffe	Seale
Turbutt	Haddocke	Thornebacke
Whitinge	Sealumpe	Salmon
Soles	Place	Smeltes
Lamprons	Chevine	Barbell
Carpe	Pike	Breame
Tench	Eles	Rudds
Oysters	Crabbs	Lobsters
Cockells	Crevices	Praunes

Milke

Milke	Creame	Salletts
Butter	Egges	of Store

## A DIATREE FOR DINNER.

*The firste Course.*

Braune	Porcke ro.
Veale steued	Carpe bo.
Pullett boy.	Custarde
Mallard bo.	Hernne ro.
Plover bo.	Mallard ro.
Rabbett bo.	Pike bo.
Fellfair bo.	Fallow Deare
Beefe ro.	Turkie ro.
Veale ro.	Gull ro.
Pigge ro.	Rabbetts ro.
Minfed Pie	Salmon Jole
Swanne ro.	Craine ba.

*The seconde Course.*

Phefant ro.	Ruffe ro.
Bitter ro.	Chevin ro.
Curlew ro.	Knotts ro.
Godwite ro.	Partrege ro.
Breame bo.	Quales ro.
Redshanke ro.	Pidgeons ba.
Warden ba.	Blackbirds
Woodcoke ro.	Larckes ro.
Plovers ro.	Sturgeon
Teales ro.	Tarte
Snipes ro.	Red Deare

## A DIATREE FOR SUPPER.

*The firste Course.*

Mutton bo.	Mutton ro.
Smalbirds bo.	Veale ro.
Thrusfhes bo.	Mallarde ro.
Plover bo.	Pidgeons ba.
Widgeon bo.	Porcke ro.
Rabbett bo.	Hernne ro.
Capers	Venefone ro.
Olives	Custarde
Sampier	Rabbetts ro.
Cowcumbers	Henns ro.
Colrego	Fallow Deare
Purflinge	Turkie ba.

*The seconde Course.*

Phefant ro.	Pidgeons ba.
Bitter ro.	Snipes ro.
Curlew ro.	Knotts ro.
Godwite ro.	Quales ro.
Ree ro.	Tarte
Widgeon ro.	Fellfairs ro.
Teales ro.	Blacberds
Plovers ro.	Larckes
Partreges ro.	Crane ba.
Woodcockesro.	Redd Deare.

Februarie,



Februarie, 1605.

*These bee the provisions for this month, beginning the 1st of Februarie.*

Grosse provisions for this monthe.

Braunc	Beefe	Baconn
Porcke	Mutton	Veale
Pigge	Hinde	Dowe
Kidde	Hare	Rabbetts

These Foules bee nowe in seafone.

Bustarde	Crayne	Swanne
Goose	Storcke	Hernne
Bitter	Curlew	Godwitt
Redshanke	Ree	Bayninge
Mallarde	Widgeon	Teales
Knotts	Plovers	Snipes
Woodcokes	Partreges	Phefant
Quales	Stennts	Jedcokes
Thrush	Fellfaire	Larckes
Pidgeons	Turtells	Cullvers
Pecokes	Turkies	Hennes
Stocdoves	Goldnye	Smalebirdes

These Fishes bee nowe in seafone.

Linge	Salmon	Habberdine
Tunny	Daces	Porpoffe
Sturgeon	Pike	Thornebake
Sealump	Oysters	Place
Smeltes	Lobsters	Haddocke
		Chevine

Chevine	Codde	Barbell
Roches	Seale	Pearches
Breame	Whitinge	Eles
Muffells	Soles	Crabbs
Crefishes	Lamprons	Praunes
Milke	Creame	Salletts
Butter	Egges	of Store.

## A DIATREE FOR DINNER.

*The firste Course.*

Butter	Flounders
Egges	Crabbs
Loches bo.	Veale
Goodions bo.	Place
Daces bo.	Haddocke
Roches bo.	Thornbake
Whitings <sup>mop</sup> bo.	Carppe
Elles bo.	Caponne
Linge bo.	Pike
Porpofs ro.	Turbott ba.
Oyfters ba.	Salmon
Sealump	

*The seconde Course.*

Whitings	Lobfters
Soles	Chevine
Smeltes	Spitchcokc
Roc Codde	Godwite
Pearches	Crevice
Lamprons	Praunes
Turbott bo.	Tarte
Breame	Sturgeon
Lambe	Seale
Barbell	backed.

## A DIATREE FOR SUPPER.

*The firste Course.*

Butter	Ruddes bo.
Eggs	Eles bo.
Oyfters fteu.	Menues bo.
Goodions bo.	Dace bo.

*The seconde Course.*

Whitings	Pearches
Soles	Lamprons
Smelts	Turbot bo.
Roc Codd.	Breame
	Lambe



Linge	Haddocke	Lambe	Creveces
Porpofs ro.	Thornebake	Barbell	Praunes
Oyfters ba.	Carppe	Lobfters	Tarte
Sealump	Caponne	Chevine	Sturgeon
Flounders	Pike	Spitchcoke	Seale
Crabbs	Turbott ba.	Godwite	backed,
Muttone ro.	Salmon		
Place			

March, 1605.

*Thefe bee the provisions for this monthe, beginning the 1st of March.*

Grosse provisions for this monthe.

Beeffe	Baconn	Porcke
Mutton	Veale	Lambe
Pigge	Kidde	Hare

Thefe Foules bee nowe in feafone.

Buftarde	Crayne	Swanne
Gooffe	Storcke	Heron
Bitter	Curlew	Godwite
Redshanke	Ree	Bayninge
Mallard	Widgeon	Teales
Knotts	Plovers	Snipes
Woodcokes	Partreges	Fezant
Quales	Stents	Jedcokes
Thrush	Fellfaire	Larckes
Pidgeons	Turtells	Cullvers
Pecokes	Turkies	Henns
Stockdoves	Goldney	Smale Birds.

These Fishes bee nowe in seafone.

Linge	Habberdine	Codde
Tunny	Porpoffe	Seale
Sturgeon	Thornebake	Whitinges
Sealump	Place	Soles
Smeltes	Haddocke	Lamprons
Salmon	Chevine	Barbell
Daces	Roches	Pearches
Pike	Bream	Eles
Oyfters	Mufcells	Crabbs
Lobfters	Crefifhes	Praunes
Milke	Creame	Salletts
Butter	Eggs	of Store.

A DIATREE FOR DINNER.

*The firste Courfe.*

Veale bo.	Gull ro.
Pullett bo.	Porcke ro.
Widgeon bo.	Hernne ro.
Culver bo.	Mallard ro.
Lapwine bo.	Storcke ro.
Rabbett bo.	Turkie ro.
Beeffe ro.	Custard
Veale ro.	Rabbetts
Pigg ro.	Curlewe ro.
Minfed Pic	Turkie ba.
Swann ro.	

*The seconde Courfe.*

Phefant	Baninge
Bitter ro.	Knotts
Curlewiak	Partreges
Godwitt	Pidgeons
Redfhanke	Quales
Woodcoke	Blacbirds
Plovers	Larckes
Teales	Tarte
Snipes	Craynne
Ruffe	



A DIATREE FOR SUPPER.

<i>The firste Courſe.</i>		<i>The ſeconde Courſe.</i>	
Mutton bo.	Veale ro.	Phefante	Knotts
Birdes bo.	Neatſtong ba.	Bitter	Partregs
Widgeon bo.	Porke ro.	Godwite	Quales
Stocdove bo.	Heron ro.	Redſhanke	Jedcoke
Lapwine bo.	Mallard	Woodcoke	Fellfaire
Rabbett bo.	Storcke	Plovers	Larckes
Capers	Turkie	Teales	Pidgeons
Olives	Curlew	Snipes	Tarte
Cowcumpers	Cuſtarde	Ruffe	Crayne.
Sampier	Rabbetts	Baninge	
Purſlinge	Gull ro.		
Caviare			
Mutton ro.			

Aprill, 1605.

*Theſe bee the proviſions for this monthe, begininge the 1ſt of Aprill.*

Groſſe proviſions for this monthe.

Beeffe	Baconn	Porcke
Mutton	Veale	Lambe
Pigge	Kidde	Rabbetts.

Theſe Foules bee nowe in ſeaſone.

Buſtarde	Pidgeons	Dotterell
Storcke	Capon	Partreges
Knotts	Turkie	Chickins
Quales	Egrete	Curlewe

Y y 2

Pecoke

Pecoke	Godwite	Larckes
Brewe	Phefante	Pulletts

These Fishe bee nowe in feason.

Linge	Habberdine	Codde
Herings White	Herrings Redd	Sprates
Tunny	Porposse	Scale
Sturgeon	Turbott	Thornebake
Sealump	Whitinges	Place
Soles	Smelts	Salmon
Fresh Linge	River Trout	Haddockes
Britt	Flounders	Dabes
Chevin	Barbell	Pike
Lamprons	Lamprais	Eles
Conger	Mades	Dory
Dace	Bream	Millett
Roches	Ruddes	Perches
Cunninge	Tench	Burbott
Goodgons	Loches	Menewes
Rochetts	Gurnard	Troute
Oysters	Cockells	Muscels
Crabbs	Lobsters	Crevicees
Eles Salt	Salmon Sa.	Conger Sa.
Milke	Creame	Salletts
Butter	Eggs	of Store.

A DIATREE FOR DINNER.

<i>The firste Course.</i>		<i>The seconde Course.</i>	
Butter	Oysters bo.	Soles	Rochett
Roches bo.	Mopps bo.	Roccodd	Gurnard
			Cockells



Cockells bo.	Sealump	Millett	Rudd
Menewes bo.	Seale ro.	Cuninge	Pearch
Mufcells bo.	Turbot ba.	Millett	Breame
Eggs ro.	Haddocke	Place	Tench
Linge bo.	Mades	Smeltes	Salmon
Herring bro.	Whitinge	Lamprons	Tarte
Herring Red	Dabes	Carpe	Sturgeon
Sprates	Flounders	Chevin	Custard
Salte Ele	Thornebak	Barbell	
Salmon	Pike		
Codd	Porpofs ba.		

A DIATREE FOR SUPPER.

*The firste Course.*

*The seconde Course.*

Butter	Turbot ba.	Soles	Pearch
Mopps bo.	Mades	Roccod	Breame
Cockels bo.	Place bo.	Rochett	Tenche
Menewes bo.	Flounders	Gurnard	Salmon
Oysters bo.	Haddocke	Millett	Crevice
Eggs ro.	Crabbes	Smeltes	Sturgeon
Linge bo.	Porpofs ro.	Lamprons	Tarte
Herring bro.	Pike	Carpe	Praunes
Herring Red	Lobsters	Chevine	Lampra ba.
Spratts	Cunninge	Barbell	
Codd	Custarde		
Sealump			

Maye, 1605.

*These bee the provisions for this month, begininge the 1st of Maye.*

Grosse provifions for this monthe.

Beeffe	Pigge	Porcke
Muttone	Stagges	Veale
		Kidde

Kidde	Baconn	Rabbetts
Bucke	Lambe	Hare

## These Foules bee nowe in feafone.

Buftarde	Turkie	Peacoke
Storcke	Egreate	Brewe
Knotts	Dotterells	Godwite
Quales	Partreges	Phefante
Pidgeons	Kennecis	Larckes
Caponn	Pullett	Chickins
Chitt	Stinte	Churre

## These Fifhe bee nowe in feafone.

Linge	Habberdine	Codd
Tunny	Seale	Porpoffe
Sturgeon	Turbott	Thornebake
Sealump	Whitings	Place
Soles	Smeltes	Salmon
French Ling	Mackarell	Haddocks
River Trout.	Flounders	Dabes
Chevin	Barbell	Pike
Lamprons	Lampraes	Eles
Conger	Mades	Dory
Dace	Shads	Mullett
Roch	Rudde	Pearches
Breams	Tench	Burbott
Rochett	Gurnard	Trout
Crabbs	Lobfters	Crevice

Milke	Creame	Salletts
Butter	Eggs	of Store.



A DIATREE FOR DINNER.

*The firste Course.*

Capon bo.	Pigg ro.
Veale bo.	Venfone ro.
Pidgeons bo.	Herone ro.
Birdes bo.	Pidgeons ba.
Rabbetts bo.	Egreat ro.
Neats Tong bo.	Custard
Lambe bo.	Storke
Beeffe ro.	Porcke ro.
Veale ro.	Turkie ro.
Mutton Leg ro.	Fallo Deare.
Minfed Pie	

*The seconde Course.*

Lambe ro.	Knotts
Phefant ro.	Quales
Brewe ro.	Pidgeons
Rabbetts	Churre
Chickins	Chitte
Warden ba.	Stints
Godwite	Larcks
Partreges	Peacoke ba.
Kennices	Red Dear ba.
Dotterell	

A DIATREE FOR SUPPER.

*The firste Course.*

Mutton bo.	Veale ro.
Chickins bo.	Chickins ba.
Pidgeons bo.	Herone ro.
Birdes bo.	Venfone ro.
Neats Tong bo.	Egreat ro.
Lambe bo.	Custard
Capers	Storke ro.
Olives	Turkie ro.
Purflinge	Hare ro.
Spinnige	Fallo Deare.
Mutton ro.	

*The seconde Course.*

Kidde ro.	Knotts
Phefant	Quals
Brewe	Pidgeons
Chickins	Chitte
Rabbetts	Churre
Oringe ba.	Stints
Godwite	Larkes
Partreges	Peacoke ba.
Kennices	Red Deare.
Dotterell	

June, 1605.

*These bee the provisions for this monthe, beginning of June the 1st.*

## Grosse provisions for this monthe.

Beeffe	Mutton	Veale
Baconne	Lambe	Kidde
Pigge	Hare	Rabbetts
Stagge	Bucke	Rooe.

## These Foules bee nowe in feafone.

Pecoke	Turkie	Caponn
Herone	Bitter	Sea Pie
Knotts	Dotterell	Blonkett
Green Goofe	Kennices	Pevetts
Gull	Petterells	Mewe
Quales	Partreges	Phefante
Larckes	Pea Chikes	Tearne
Stares	Thrushes	Black Birds
Pidgeons	Chickins	Yong Turkies.

## These Fishe bee nowe in feafone.

Linge	Cuninge	Whitings
Sturgeon	Carpe	Smeltes
Sealump	Roches	Brett
Soles	Pike	Dabbs
Conger	Crabbs	Barbell
Flounders	Herringes	Dorye
Chevin	Habberdine	Mullett
Mades	Turbott	Burbotts

Rudde



Rudde	Thornbake	Mackarell
Breame	Salmon	Goodions
Lobfters	Gornarde	Pearches
Rochetts	Mopps	Tenché
Codde	Eales	Crevices
Playce	Dace	Troute.
Milke	Creame	Salletts
Butter	Eggs	of Store.

A DIATREE FOR DINNER.

<i>The firfte Courfe.</i>		<i>The feconde Courfe.</i>	
Butter	Sealump	Soles	Macarell
Mopps	Whiting	Barbell	Pearch
Roches	Chevine	Smelts	Breame
Burbot	Conger	Dabbs	Carpe
Eales	Thornbake	Spitckoke	Tench
Dabbs	Troute	Gurnard	Brett
Goodion	Pike	Mades	Salmon
Eggs	Crabbs	Dorye	Lobfters
Linge	Crevices	Dace	Prauns
Turbot ba.	Cuninge	Millett	Tarte
Codde	Cuftarde	Artechok ba.	
Place			

A DIATREE FOR SUPPER.

<i>The firfte Courfe.</i>		<i>The feconde Courfe.</i>	
Butter	Eales	Soles	Spitchcok
Mopps	Dabbs	Barbell	Gurnarde
Roches	Goodions	Smeltes	Mades
Burbot	Spinnedge	Cuninge	Dorye
			Purflinge

Purflinge	Conger	Dace	Tench
Capers	Thornbake	Millett	Brette
Olives	Troute	Artechok ba.	Salmon
Linge	Pike	Macarell	Lobsters
Turbat ba.	Crabbs	Pearch	Praunes
Place	Crevice	Bream	Tarte
Whiting	Custarde	Carpe	
Chevine			

Julie, 1605.

*These bee the provisions for this month, beginninge the 1st of Julie.*

Grosse provisions for this monthe.

Beeffe	Veale	Mutton
Baconn	Lambe	Kidde
Pigge	Hare	Rabbetts
Stagge	Bucke	Roe.

These Foules bee nowe in seafone.

Peacoke	Turkie	Caponn
Heron	Bitter	Godwite
Knotts	Dotterell	Growces
Green Goose	Kennices	Pevetts
Gull	Peterell	Mewe
Quales	Partreges	Phefant
Auke	Mullett	Tearnne
Larkes	Martines	Chites
Pidgeons	Chickins	Turkichike.

These



These Fishes bee now in feafone.

Linge	Habberdine	Codde
Sturgeon	Turbott	Thornbak
Sealump	Whitings	Place
Soles	Smelts	Haddocke
Conger	Brett	Gurnard
Chevin	Barbell	Eales
Meads	Dory	Dace
Shade	Mullett	Macarell
Roches	Rudds	Pearches
Pike	Bream	Tenches
Rochetts	Goodions	Troute
Lobfters	Crevice	Crabbs
Milke	Creame	Salletts
Butter	Eggs	of Store.

A DIATREE FOR DINNER.

*The firſte Courſe.*

*The ſeconde Courſe.*

Capon bo.	Shoveler	Lambe ro.	Godwite
Veale bo.	Venefone ro.	Phefant	Knotts
Birdes bo.	Gull ro.	Bitter	Quales
Rabbetts bo.	Egreate ro.	Rabbetts	Pevetts
Neatſtong bo.	Brewe ro.	Pidgeons	Growce
Lambe bo.	Cuſtarde	Chickins	Martine
Beefe ro.	Herone ro.	Partreges	Larckes
Veale ro.	Turkie	Pidgeons ba.	Tarte
Pigg ro.	Hare ro.	Dotterell	Red Deare ba.
Minfed Pie	Caponn	Kennices	
Green Goofe	Fallodear		
Storcke			

## A DIATREE FOR SUPPER.

*The firste Course.*

Mutton bo.	Mutton ro.
Birdes bo.	Veale ro.
Pidgeons bo.	Shoveler
Rabbetts bo.	Hare ro.
Chickins bo.	Gull ro.
Calves Foot bo.	Chickins ba.
Capers	Herone ro.
Olives	Turkie
Purflinge	Capons
Lettice	Fallodear
Reddish	

*The seconde Course.*

Lambe ro.	Godwite
Phefant	Knotts
Bitter	Quales
Rabbetts	Pevetes
Pidgeons	Grouce
Chickins	Martine
Partreges	Larckes
Pidgeons ba.	Tarte
Dotterell	Reddeare ba.
Kennices	

Auguste, 1605.

*These bee the provisions for this month, beginning the 1st of Auguste.*

## Grosse provisions for this month.

Beeffe	Mutton	Veale
Baconn	Gote	Kidde
Pigge	Hare	Rabbetts
Stagge	Bucke	Roe.

## These Foules bee nowe in feafone.

Peacoke	Quales	Dotterell
Heron	Larckes	Kenneces
Knotts	Pidgeons	Petterell
Greengoose	Turkie	Partreges
Gull	Bitter	Martines



Chickins	Crouces	Fefante
Caponn	Pevete	Chites
Godwite	Mewe	Yong Turkie.

These Fishe bee nowe in feafone.

Linge	Habberdine	Codde
Sturgeon	Turbotte	Thornbak
Sealump	Whitings	Place
Soles	Smeltes	Haddocke
Conger	Breate	Gurnard
Flounders	Dabbes	Mopps
Chevine	Barbell	Eales
Meades	Dory	Dace
Shade	Mulletts	Macarel
Roches	Ruddes	Pearches
Pike	Bream	Tenches
Rochetts	Goodions	Troutes
Lobfters	Crevices	Crabbs
Butter	Creame	Salletts
Milke	Eggs	of Store.

A DIATREE FOR DINNER.

*The firfte Courfe.*

*The feconde Courfe.*

Butter	Goodion	Soles	Mades
Moppes	Eggs	Barbell	Dorye
Roches	Linge	Smeltes	Dace
Burbotte	Turbot ba.	Flounders	Millett
Eales	Codd	Spitchcoke	Artechoke
Dabbs	Place	Gurnarde	Macarell
			Sealump

Sealump	Pike	Pearche	Puffine
Whitinge	Crabbs	Breame	Lobsters
Chevine	Cuninge	Carpe	Praunes
Conger	Crevices	Tench	Tarte
Thornbake	Custard	Brett	
Troute			

## A DIATREE FOR SUPPER.

*The firste Course.*

Butter	Linge
Mopps	Turbot ba.
Roches	Place
Burbott	Whiting
Eales	Haddocke
Dabbs	Chevine
Goodions	Conger
Spinnedg	Troute
Purflinge	Pike
Lettece	Custarde
Sampier	

*The seconde Course.*

Soles	Pearch
Barbell	Breame
Smelts	Carpe
Gurnard	Tenche
Mades	Brette
Dorye	Lobsters
Dace	Praunes
Millett	Crevices
Artechok	Tarte.
Macarel	

September, 1605.

*These bee the provisons for this monthe, beginning the 1st of September.*

## Grosse provisons for this monthe.

Beeffe	Mutton	Veale
Baconn	Gote	Kidde
Pigge	Hare	Rabbetts
Stagge	Bucke	Roe
		These



These Foules bee nowe in seafone.

Turkie	Caponn	Hernne
Bitter	Shoveler	Godwite
Knotts	Dunlings	Growces
Gooffe	Gull	Pevett
Kennices	Petterell	Mewe
Quales	Partreges	Fefante
Fellfare	Railes	Lapwine
Pidgeons	Pulletts	Chickins

These Fishe bee nowe in seafone.

Linge	Habberdine	Codde
Sturgeon	Turbott	Thornebak
Soles	Whitinges	Place
Conger	Breate	Gurnarde
Flounders	Dabbs	Mopps
Chevine	Barbell	Carpe
Meades	Dory	Dace
Roches	Ruddes	Pearches
Pike	Bream	Tenche
Rochetts	Goodions	Trouts
Crabbs	Lobfters	Crevices
Oyfters	Cockells	Mufcells
Butter	Creame	Salletts
Milke	Eggs	of Store.

## A DIATREE FOR DINNER.

*The firste Course.*

Caponn bo.	Shoveler
Veale bo.	Bitter
Birdes bo.	Hare ro.
Rabbetts bo.	Gull ro.
Neatstonge	Custard
Pidgeons bo.	Heron ro.
Beeffe ro.	Turkie ro.
Veale ro.	Caponn
Pigge ro.	Rabbetts
Minsed Pie	Fallodeare
Goose ro.	

*The seconde Course.*

Kidde ro.	Godwite
Phefant	Knotts
Chickine ba.	Lapwine
Pidgeons	Quales
Chickins	Pevetts
Partreges	Railes
Petterell	Growces
Kennices	Tarte
Mewe	Reddeare.
Dunlings	

## A DIATREE FOR SUPPER.

*The firste Course.*

Mutton bo.	Veale ro.
Birds bo.	Shoveler
Rabbetts bo.	Hare ro.
Pidgeons bo.	Calves Feet ba.
Chickins bo.	Bitter ro.
Lapwine bo.	Turkie
Capers	Herone
Reddish	Custard
Olives	Caponn
Samper	Fallodeare
Mutton ro.	

*The seconde Course.*

Rabbetts	Godwite
Phefant	Knotts
Pidgeons ba.	Lapwine
Chickins ro.	Quales
Petterell	Pevetts
Pidgeons ro.	Growces
Kenneces	Railes
Partreges	Tarte
Mewe	Reddeare
Dunlinge	



October, 1605.

*These bee the provisions for this month, beginning the 1st of October.*

Grosse provisions for this monthe.

Beeffe	Mutton	Veale
Baconn	Porcke	Pigge
Kidde	Hare	Rabbetts
Hinde	Roe	Doe.

These Foules bee nowe in seafone.

Turkie	Pecoke	Bustard
Herone	Bitter	Shoveler
Knotts	Ruffes	Raile
Gooffe	Mallard	Widgeon
Godwite	Pewets	Gull
Woodcoks	Snipes	Judcoke
Felfaire	Thrushe	Blackbirds
Quales	Partreges	Phefant
Pidgeons	Plover	Culver

These Fishes bee nowe in seafone.

Linge	Pike	Dabes
Sturgeon	Rochetts	Barbell
Soles	Creveces	Dory
Conger	Oisters	Rudds
Flounders	Habberdin	Bream
Chevine	Turbott	Goodions
Mades	Whitinges	Crabbes
Roches	Breate	Cockells

Codde	Mopes	Tenche
Thornbake	Carpes	Troute
Place	Dace	Lobstars
Gurnarde	Pearches	Muscells
Butter	Creame	Salletts
Milke	Egges	of Store.

## A DIATREE FOR DINNER.

*The firste Course.*

Butter	Whitings
Mopps	Place
Roches	Chevine
Burbott	Conger
Eales	Thornbake
Dabbs	Troute
Goodions	Pike
Eggs	Crabbs
Linge	Crevice
Turbot ba.	Custarde
Codde	

*The seconde Course.*

Soles	Pearch
Barbell	Breames
Smeltes	Carpe
Flounders	Tench
Spitchcoke	Breate
Gurnarde	Puffine
Mades	Lobsters
Dory	Praunes
Dace	Tarte
Artkechoke	

## A DIATREE FOR SUPPER.

*The firste Course.*

Butter	Mades
Mopps	Eggs
Roches	Ling
Burbott	Spinnidge
Eales	Pursling
Dabbs	Cowcumb <sup>rs</sup> .

*The seconde Course.*

Soles	Pike
Barbell	Troute
Smeltes	Artechoke
Flounders	Potato ba.
Spitchcoke	Pearch
Gurnard	Breame
	Caviare



Caviare	Chevine	Carpe	Lobsters
Turbott ba.	Conger	Tench	Praunes
Codde	Thornbake	Breate	Tarte
Whiting	Crabbs	Puffine	
Place			

November, 1605.

*These bee the provisions for this month, beginning the 1st of November.*

Grosse provisions for this month.

Branne	Beeffe	Baconne
Mutton	Veale	Lambe
Pigge	Porcke	Kidde
Roe	Hare	Rabbetts
Hinde	Doe	Gote

These Foules bee nowe in seafone.

Bustarde	Craynne	Swanne
Goofe	Storcke	Herone
Peacoke	Turkie	Caponne
Bitter	Shoveler	Curlew
Godwite	Knotts	Lapwine
Redshanke	Ree	Bayninge
Mallard	Widgeon	Teales
Golne	Plovers	Snipes
Woodcoks	Partreges	Phefannte
Quales	Fellfares	Blackbirds
Thrushes	Stints	Judcoke
Pidgeons	Turtells	Culvers
Pulletts	Stocdoves	Larkes

## These Fishes bee nowe in seafone.

Linge	Habberdine	Codde
Tunny	Porpoffe	Seale
Sturgeon	Turbot	Thornbake
Sealump	Whiting	Haddocke
Salmon	Smalcod	Lamprons
Dace	Roches	Pearches
Pike	Breame	Carpe
Conger.	Breate	Eales
Lobftars	Crabbs	Crevices
Oyfters	Cockells	Mufcells
Butter	Creame	Salletts
Milke	Eggs	of Store.

## A DIATREE FOR DINNER.

*The firfte Course.*

Braune	—————
Veale steu.	Heron ro.
Lapwine bo.	Cuftarde
Pullett bo.	Mallard ro.
Smalbirds bo.	Turkie ro.
Plover bo.	Godwite
Widgeon bo.	Storcke
Beeffe ro.	Caponne
Pigge ro.	Rabbetts
Kidde ro.	Hare ro.
Minfed Pie	Fallo dear
Swanne ro.	

*The seconde Course.*

Phefant	Judcoke
Bitter	Golne
Curlewe	Knottes
Ree	Partreges
Bayninge	Quales
Redshanke	Pidgeons ba.
Potato ba.	Blackbirds
Woodcoke	Larckes
Plovers	Tarte
Teales	Reddeare
Snipes	



A DIATREE FOR SUPPER.

*The firste Course.*

Mutton bo.	Mutton ro.
Smalbirds bo.	Veale ro.
Thrushes bo.	Mallard ro.
Plover bo.	Turkie ba.
Widgeon bo.	Porcke ro.
Rabbett bo.	Heron ro.
Capers	Veneson ro.
Olives	Custard
Sampier	Rabbetts ro.
Cowcumbers	Henns ro
Colrego	Fallodear
Purslinge	

*The seconde Course.*

Phefant	Snipes
Bitter	Judcoke
Curlew	Golney
Godwite	Knotts
Ree	Partreges
Redshanke	Quales
Potato ba.	Larcks
Woodcoke	Tarte
Plover	Reddeare
Teale	

December, 1605.

*These bee the provisions for this month, beginning the 1st of December.*

Grosse provisions for this monthe.

Braune	Beeffe	Baconn
Mutton	Veale	Lambe
Pigge	Porcke	Kidde
Roe	Hare	Rabbettes
Hinde	Doe	Gote.

These

## These Foules bee nowe in feafone.

Bustarde	Craynne	Swanne
Goofe	Storcke	Heronne
Peacoke	Turkie	Caponne
Bitter	Shoveler	Curlewe
Godwite	Knottes	Gull
Redfhancke	Ree	Bayninge
Mallarde	Widgeon	Teales
Woodcocks	Plovers	Snipes
Quales	Partreges	Phefante
Thrushes	Fellfares	Blacbirdes
Pidgeons	Culvers	Stocdoves
Stintes	Larckes	Smalbirdes
Pulletts	Turtells	Hennes.

## These Fische bee nowe in feafone.

Linge	Habberdine	Codde
Tunny	Porpoffe	Seale
Sturgeon	Turbott	Thornbacke
Sealump	Whittinge	Haddocke
Salmon	Smal Codde	Lamprons
Pike	Bream	Carpe
Dace	Roches	Pearches
Mopps	Rudds	Eales
Dabbs	Flounders	Soles
Crabbs	Lobfters	Crevice
Oyfters	Cockells	Mufcells
Praunes	Sripp's (Shrimps)	Perrewinkell.

Butter



Butter	Creame	Salletts
Milke	Eggs	of Store.

A DIATREE FOR DINNER.

<i>The firste Course.</i>		<i>The seconde Course.</i>	
Butter	Whitings	Soles	Roccod
Roches bo.	Thornbake	Lamprons	Spitchcoke
Ruddes bo.	Haddocke	Mopps	Potato ba.
Dabbs bo.	Porpoffe ro.	Pike	Troute
Oyfters bo.	Lampron ba.	Oyfter ba.	Sturgeon
Shrimps bo.	Turbott bo.	Breame	Lobfters
Perrewinkel	Crevices	Carpe	Praunes
Eggs	Crabbs	Flounders	Salmon
Linge	Custarde	Pearche	Tarte
Turbot ba.	Seale ba.	Warden ba.	
Codde			

A DIATREE FOR SUPPER.

<i>The firste Course.</i>		<i>The seconde Course.</i>	
Butter	Eggs	Soles	Roccode
Roches bo.	Linge	Lamprons ro.	Spitchcoke
Oyfters bo.	Turbot ba.	Mopps	Pearche
Ruddes bo.	Codde	Pike	Troute
Shrimps	Whitinge	Warden ba.	Sturgeon
Dabbs bo.	Thornbake	Turbott bo.	Lobfters
Perrewinkle	Haddocke	Breame	Praunes
Spinnige	Porpoffe ro.	Carpe	Salmon
Purflinge	Oyfters ba.	Flounders	Tarte.
Cowcumber	Crabbs	Custarde	
Caviarie			

*A generall*

*A generall Table of necessarie provisions for the whole yeare.*

## Grosse provisions.

Braune	Beeffe	Baconn
Mutton	Veale	Lambe
Pigge	Porcke	Kidde
Roe	Hare	Rabbetts
Hinde	Doe	Gote.

## Foules of all fortes.

Buftard	Stares	Culvers
Elke	Turkie	Chitte
Storke	Henns	Felfaire
Shovcler	Craynne	Larkes
Curlew	Goofe	Peacoke
Redshanke	Hernne	Pulletts
Knotte	Egreate	Swanne
Blonkett	Curlewiake	Barnakle
Gull	Ree	Bitter
Auke	Ruffe	Brewe
Teale	Cutberduk	Godwite
Mallard	Petterell	Bayninge
Plover	Mullett	Dotterell
Woodcoke	Goldne	Pevett
Quales	Kennices	Ternne
Pidgeons	Snipes	Puffine
Turtells	Partreges	Widgeon
Churre	Railes	Didaper
		Judcoke



Judcoke	Stockdoves	Martins
Phefant	Stintes	Caponne
Growces	Blacbirds	Chickins.

Spice for the Kittchine.

Sugar	Sinamon	Ginger
Nuttmegs	Cloves	Mace
Pepper	Saffron	Sanders
Proynes	Reafons	Currants
Dte	Ifinglasse	Turnsaile.

*Cornne.*

Wheate  
Rye  
Maulte  
Peaffe  
Oates.

*Wynnes.*

Clarrette  
White  
Rennishe  
Sacke  
Muskadell

*Necessaries.*

Otenmeale  
Salte  
Hoppes  
Soape  
Starche.

Fishe of all forts.

Linge	Cuninge	Oysters
Herrings	Soles	Crabbs
Salmon	Dabbs	Wilkes
Sturgeon	Lamprons	Praunes
Stockfish	Carpe	Habberdine
Tunny	River Troute	Sprattes
Thornbacke	Barbell	Conger Salte
Fresherring	Rudde	Conger Fresh
Gurnard	Bream	Turbotte
Dory	Goodions	Porposse

Scate	Cockells	Sealump
Maccarell	Lobsters	Flounders
Whitinge	Scallop	Smeltes
Mopps	Shrimpes	Eales
Dace	Green Fish	Troute
Place	Eales Salte	Chubbe
Roccode	Codde Salte	Roche
Lampraies	Codde Fresh	Pike
Salmon	Haddocke	Burbotte
Chevin	Seale	Menewes
Dare	Meades	Muscels
Pearche	Rochetts	Crevice
Tench	Brette	Perrewinkles
Loches	Millette	Limpittes.

*A generall Table of necessarie provisions for the whole yeare.*

Neatstoung Dried	Wardens	Olives
Neatstoung Greene	Butter	Sampier
Neatsfoote Souft	Curddes	Creffes
Tripes Souft	Unions	Caviarie
Puddinges	Vinniger	Lemmons
Raddish	Calveshead	Peares
Eringoes	Calvesplucke	Milke
Artechoks	Calves Mugget	Cheeffe
Capers	Calves Foote	Hearbes
Purslinge	Saufeges	Verjous
Spinnege	Carretts	Lambshhead
Anchovaes	Skerrettes	Lambspuke
Oringes	Cabbages	Kiddsheade
		Kiddpluck



Kiddpluck	Cowcumpers	Apples
Andulees	Millonns	Creame
Potatoes	Letteffe	Eggs
Navoyes	Colregoe	Barberries
Colflorry	Citteronns	Mustarde.

Heare endeth the table of the generall provisions.

*A Beefe may bee preporfioned into 17 peeces by name, and thofe to bee divided into Services, at the difcretion of the Officers.*

Shoulders	2	Brefts	2	Ribbs	2
Surloynes	2	Filletts	2	Ifelbons	2
Cloddes	4	Chine	1	Number	17.

*There bee in a Muttone tenne Services, vidz.*

Shoulders	2	Brestes	2	Rackes	2
Loynes	2	Legges	2	Number	10.

*There bee in a large Veale twelve Services, vidz.*

Shoulders	2	Brestes	2	Rackes	2
Loynnes	4	Legges	2	Number	12.

*Lambe.*

*Kidde.*

Lambe Littell	2	Kidde Littell	2
Lambe Greate	4.	Kidde Greate	4.

Heare followeth the order of a Leager or Journall.

*(This is divided into Columns for the several Days of the Week.)*

The Titles are as follows:

*October.*

Manchett

Ranchett

Cheate

Flower

Beare

Beeffe

Mutton

Veale

Lambe

Capone

Turkie

Chickins

Rabbetts

Pidgeons

Linge

Habberdine

Lobsters

Crabbs

Troute

Butter

Egges

Milke.

Heare endeth the Booke of Perticulars touchinge the Governement  
of a Noblemanes Houffe. Finis.

Heare



Heare insueth necessarie instructions for the Stewarde or principall Officers of the Houshold to have respect unto, as concerning all forand occations, with the tymes and seasons of the yeare duly considered touching these perticulars followinge, vidz.

*Januarie, Februarie.*

Firste, in these monthes is the best felling of all woodes for houshoule provision, as bevine, fagotte, billett, blockwoode, charcole, white and blacke, and likewise timber for durable buildinge, but if wood failes bee made to gaine the barcke, then I houlde felling of such timber to bee best when the sappe putteth forth the buddes with some leaves in the topps of the trees; but hardlie looke ever for good timber to growe of such stovens so felled in that season.

In these monthes is the best makinge of both sortes of charcole as abovesaide, and for white charcole the lighteste gorwoode is best and metest for it, vidz. willowe, fallowe, maple, beech, birtch, ashe, alder, and such like, which is to bee taken and clifted as the fletchers doe their steeles; they make their arrowes of about two or three fingers thicke, and a foote and a halfe longe, and soe to be well and throughlie dried upon a kilne, which donne maketh a verie hott fier and sweete without stuffinge smoake or suffocatinge as the other charcole doth.

In these monthes is the best plowing of lannde for pease, beanès, oates, and such like; and if one will have pease soone in the yeare followinge, such pease are to bee sowne in the waine of the moone at St. Andro's tide before Christmas; and also for fallow-

ing of lannde, for that so donne in this seafone all the sommer *Er-dars* [a], are the easiler wonne.

In these monthes is the best clenfinge of the groundes wherein such rubbidge doth growe as briers, brambell, blackthornne, and shrubbs of all sortes, which are to bee fagotted, and good fewell for bakinge and bruinge.

In these monthes it is good to fell all such woode for tinfell and stakes as is meete for hedginge, and to bee laide on the grounde whereafter it shoulde bee imployede.

In these monthes it is to bee notede that plowinge is not to bee used in raynie weather, neather when snowe is on the grounde, for then to plowe impoverisheth the yearth to much, and therefore the increase of such cropps followinge the worse.

*March, Aprill.*

Firste, in these monthes it is most fitt to clense all coppes and grounds of all such sortes of woode as have bine felled therein, and that the said coppes, springes, and groundes so felled, that winter bee well and stronnglie fenced, and so maintaynede and kepte that neather cattell nor horffe doe come in them, least with brusinge and beatinge downe the newe growene springe, it utterlie spoyle the groeth thereof, and this course is to bee continuede for five or fixe yeares at the leaste.

In these monthes is the best takinge up of coultres from the grasse to bee broken and managed for the saddell, which for feedinge and usige I referre to the gentleman of the horffe.

[a] Fallows.



In these monthes are beanes, pease, and oates to bee sown, in such groundes as are fittinge for them, and this is the bailiefe of the husbandrie his chardge to looke unto.

In these monthes are all groundes which cattle wente in the last winter to bee furthed and clenfede, the mole hills throwne abroad, that the fresh springe of grasse maye the better growe therein.

In these monthes are all fences to bee made betwixte severals, so well ditches as hedges, and those ditches well clenfed and scoured are so yearlie to bee mayntainede and kepte.

In these monthes is all kinde of provisions of fewell to bee sortede and brought home, vidz. charcole to bee kepte drie in house, baume and faggott to bee well stackede for bakinge and bruinge, billett and logwoode to bee pilede in large stackes for the house use in generall, and note that all these provisions are to bee expendede at the discretion of the stewart of houshold, or such other officer so appointede for the tyme becinge.

In these bee sommer pastures to bee sparede, vidz, from the 25<sup>th</sup> of March untill the 1<sup>st</sup> of Maye, that such pastures may have tyme to growe and gett heade before the sommer cattell bee putt therein, and such cattell in that space is to be bistowede in meddowes and lowe growndes untill Mayday, and then those meddowes to bee clenfede, spared, and furthede, while the cropps of haye bee taken awaye, and the grone or eatage of such meddowes to bee employed at the discretion of the stewart or bailieffe of the husbandrie for the lordes beste profite.

In these monthes is the beste faile to bee made of all such fatte cattell and sheepe as are to be sparede from the lordes house use, for nowe will such cattell and sheepe yealde the moste, and soe till Midsummer, which mony so taken may then bee bistowede on such leane cattell and sheepe as at the discretion of the stewart shall  
bee

bee thought meete, or otherways to the lordes use and profitt imployede.

In these monthes is good to sowe barly feede, and therefore it is to bee carefullie looked unto that the aerdars bee in good order, and all necessaries belonginge there unto, for there is not any crophe of cornne so tender and more costlie the winninge thereof then this.

In these monthes it is good to marke such cattell as eather bee of store or boughte, vidz. cattell, horffe, and sheepe by burnne or brannde to the lordes use.

In these monthes is all necessarie reparacoẽns for houses to bee looked into, for in these seasons the daies doe lengthen, and the weather drieth the best soe, as more woorke maye be donne nowe then before when the daies weare shorter, more wette, and uncertaine.

*May, June.*

Firste, in these monthes bee all cattell to bee sortede for their sommer pasturinge, and speciallie at May day evirie sorte in kinde by themselves, vidz. draughte oxen by themselves, milch kine by themselves, wayninge calves by themselves, yearinges, tow yeares, three yeares, and foure yeares oulde, everie sorte by themselves, which beeinge devided in pasture fittinge for them, will make them larger and fairer cattell.

In these monthes if these stockes aforefaide doe not larglie performe for mayntenanance of the lordes houshoulde, but that there will bee wante, then such wantes are to bee suppliede by the discretion of the stewarde of houshoulde, for nowe is the seasons for makinge all such provisions.



In these monthes bee all fortes of horffes to bee biftowede, vidz. horffes and guildinges togcather, mares and foales by themselves, coltes by themselves, fommer hacknyes by themselves, draught horffes by themselves, and fuch severall pasture providede for all these fortes as the stewarde in his discretion shall thinke meete.

In these monthes bee yeowes and lambes to bee providede for eather of store or boughte, and to bee putt in grounde fittinge, fo as they bee killed of, the yeowes may bee eather fedd to bee foulde, or putt in fuch pasture as other houldinge sheepe be in to continue.

In these monthes are sheepe in generall to bee well washede and putt to greene swarth untill their woole be thorough drie for foilinge, and after fore or five daies, if the weather serve, they may bee shornne, which donne the woole is to bee well wounde and wayede, and the contentes of todde taken, and then saffie laid up in some conueniente place, neather in losfe where it may take too much aire, for so there will bee losse to the feller by waight, neather in too lowe or danckish a place, for that will increase too much waight, and then the worse to bee foulde, for as I houlde a meane betwixt these two extreames the best both for the buyer and feller.

In these monethes, althoughe somethinge maye bee saide for houldinge sheepe, yet needeth not much, since the common fieldes and ordinarie walkes bee appointede for them in most places, save only fedde muttons for the house use. I houlde better pasture more fittinge for them, and more profittable for the lordes use to bee expendede in houshoulde.

In these monthes beefore winter corn bee growne to high it is to bee well lookede and clenfede from thistells, and all other weedes which hindereth the same to growe, and impareth the foile to yealde fuch crope as els it woulde, besides it is hardlie to bee wonne or well gott if thistells shoulde not bee cleane taken

forth of it as aforefaide, for thistells of all other weedes by one yeares groeth doth spoile the grounde for many yeares after for good cornn to growe thereon, and therefore speciallie to bee lookede into in tyme as the seafone of the yeare serveth.

In these monthes is barlie to bee looked and rollede that it may lie smooth and playne, for that graine is most tender of all other to bee brought to perfection.

*Julie, Auguste.*

Firfte, in these monthes it is tyme to looke for mowinge of grasse and convertinge the same into haye, which beinge once cut downe is to bee carefullie and dilligentlie attended untill it bee eather in the barnne or staccke, which before is not in safetie, and then to (be) well husbandede untill the winter followinge, that it bee expendede at the discretion of the steward of houshoulde, or the bailie of husbandrie, and soe to bee bistowed in such and so many severall places as the said stewarde and bailiefe in their discretions thinke meete.

In these monthes, vidz. Auguste, it is fitt to waynne lambes from the yeows, and to provide good grounde to pasture them in that they may bee in good strenght before winter doe aproache, and then they are further to bee provided for and sortede by themselves in freshe pasture before the other sortes of sheepe, at the stewardes discretion, and so to continue till the springe followinge, and then to bee putt to the ordinarie houldinge sheepe.

In these monthes is cornn to bee shornne or mowen downe, as it is ripe, of all sortes whatsoever, and such cornn to bee gott into the barnnes or stackes as in the discretion of the stewarde of houshoulde

shal



shal bee thought meete, or the bailieffe of husbandrie for the tyme beeinge.

In these monthes after the corne bee innede, it is meete to putt draughte horsses and oxen into the averish, and so lonnge to continue there as the meate sufficeth, which will ease the other pastures they went in before:

In these monthes it is fitt to see to the gatheringe of crabbes in the woodes and hedgrowes for the making of verjuice, which beeinge donne by the bailieffe of husbandrie, whoe is to acquante the stewarde or clarke of the kittchine therewith what quantitie is made, and so to give order for bringinge the same into the store.

In these monthes, and so well before as after, it is fittinge for the gardener to see all fruite within his chardge, of what sorte soever, to bee gatherede in dewe tyme, and therewith to make privie the stewarde of houshould, that hee in his discretion may acquainte the lorde or ladie what their pleasures is shal bee donne therewith.

In these monthes is fittinge to putt hoggs into the avarish after the cattell bee taken away, which will mucche amende them by feedinge of such cornn as is shaken and lyinge on the grounde in gettinge downe the corne thereof late growinge.

*September, October.*

First, in these monthes, after harvest ended, which for the mosse parte is and in most places in September, then the stewarde of houshoulde is to see the bailieffe of the husbandrie to have all his plowes and harrows with their necessaric utences neate and fitte for the sowinge of all such seede as in this seafone is meete to bee, vidz. wheate, rye, messinge, and vetches, if such grounds serve for them; and all arders dewlie to bee donne for all such seede as afore-

saide, that there bee noe losse of tyme when feedefur cometh in hannde.

In these monthes is the best makinge provision for all sortes of spices and fruites for the house use, as for their severall kindes I referre you to the journall or leager in this booke before specified.

In these monthes is the best providinge of wyntnes of all sortes, and salte for store so well bay as white; but I houlde it better to make the larger provision of bay salte, for because it seasons the stronger, and will last the longer, beinge drie and well kepte.

In these monthes are hopps to bee gathered if they bee of store and are to bee plucked or taken drie, and with a softe sier to bee floelie and throughlie dried; and after they bee coulde to bee close packede up in fackes, the better they will keepe their strength when they are to bee usede, if there bee none of store then nowe is the tyme to buye them.

In these monthes is the beste providinge for salte store, vidz. lynnge, habberdinge, codde, salte cales, salte salmon barrellede, and stockfishe. For whyte herringes, redd, and spratts, I hould Candlemas the best providinge of them.

In these monthes the stewartde of houshoulde is to provide all such cornn as is not of store, and to bee delivered at tymes conveniente to the yoman of the garner, whoe is safelie to keepe the saide cornn for his lordes use, if it bee a yeare, two, or more.

In these monthes the stewartde of houshoulde is to provide fatte beeves if they bee not of store, and those to continue for spendinge in the house till Midsommer followinge, that grasse beeves bee reddie, and soe to bee pastured in good grasse or staule fede in the house at his discretion.

In these monthes are young cattell for store to bee bought, soe well stires as heyffors of three or foure yeares oulde, which beinge well winterede at grasse, or strawe at the barnn doores, will the



sooner bee fedd the sommer followinge, and so servicable in the house, for they will sooner feede after strawe then grasse, being put in good and fresh pasture.

In these monthes, vidz. from October till May, are the breede of calves to bee rearede, and not after, because then they bee more hardlie bredde, and become the stronger cattell and larger then all the yeare after if they weare to bee kept, and this chardge belongeth to the bailieffe of husbandrie to looke unto.

In these monthes are groundes to bee apointed so well for all other cattell, as calves, yearings, two yeares, three yeares oulde, or upwardes, and those in their kinde to bee atendede and well fostered duringe the winter tyme.

In these monthes likewise are fedd muttons to bee provided for the houshoulde, if they bee not of store, and to bee kept in good groundes for expendinge, and that provision to continue till Whitsuntide; after that others bee provided.

In these monthes, vidz. braunes, baconns, lardes, porketts, are to bee provided for, and to bee fedd at maste if there bee any, if not they are to be corne fedd, at the discretion of the bailieffe of husbandrie, whoe is to give notice to the stewarde of houshoulde howe they feed, that hee in his discretion may give order for expendinge them in the house as occasion serveth.

In these monthes is the best castinge or clenfinge of poundes or pooles, this seafone beinge the drieste in all the yeare, and springe at the lowest.

In these monthes it is good to take up guildinges for winter travill into the house, for if they shoulde runne at grasse longer both they would paire of their fleshe and longe before they would bee soe faire coted as otherwise, but this I referre to the gentleman of the horse, as his chardge to looke unto.

*November,*

*November, December.*

Firste, in these monthes is the best sortinge of all sortes of sheepe: untill the Ladie daie in Marche, vidz: weathers by themselves, yeows by themselves, wayninge-lambes by themselves, and note that the rammes bee not put to the yeows before St. Luke's Tide, for those lambes doe fall about the five and twentieth of Marche, which if they shoulde fall before that tyme, the scarcitie of fresh grasse and the coldnes of the weather, woulde so nipe and chill them that it would eather kill or so crooke them that they woulde nether bee stronge or lardge sheepe eather for store or service in the lordes house. Likewise these severall sortes of stocke aforefaide are to bee well fothered and attended till the next springe, that then there may bee farther order taken for them, as occation servithe; and note, that when the ramms have farvede the yeowes they bee putt in verie good pasture of purpose all that winter, or ells they wyl bee in danger to bee lost by reasone of beatinge and heatinge them, chafinge the yeowes in rutt tyme.

In these monthes are the studd mares with foale and their other breede to bee bestowed in groundes fitinge for them in the winter tyme; and the largest and fairest horscoltes to bee looked unto, and put in choise groundes, and to have some convenientte hoovell or house to goe into in stormye weather, with racke and manger therein to feede upon hay, pulls of cornne or oates, which will much increase their groeth. If further knowledge bee requirede I referre those to Blundivell his booke of breedinge horffes, or such like authors better practizede therein then myselfe, and likewise for further managinge them to the faddell.

In these monthes, as the weather servith, is good to take draughte



draughte cattell and horffe from grasse into the house, I meane before any greate or lying stormes begine, the stronnger and better able those cattell wil bee to doe their woorke after Christmas when plowinge and sowinge then cometh in seafone.

In these monthes is best to provide for fitches of bacon and lardes of store for the whole yeares provision followinge, and such fitches to bee well dried and so salfie laide up, the larde to be preservide in pickell or otherwise, at the discretion of the cooke or larderman.

In these monthes is good to fell all such woode as is fittinge for bruse, eather for deare or cattell, and so to continue till Marche or Aprill, that then such woode so cut downe may bee faggotted for the provision of the house.

In these monthes is good to thrashe forth corne after it hath hade a good sweate in the mowe and so dried againe, and such strawe is to bee given to the draughte oxen and cattell at the stand-axe or the barnedores for sparinge of haye, for such strawe must alwayes bee fresh, and newe threshed everie daye or other day, and so given to the cattell."

These fewe notes within written I have thought good to sett doune for the better understandinge of such as have not bine acquainted therwith, though to moste good husbands, with many other secrets, they bee better knowne then I ether cann or will take upon me to exprefs. 1606."

## NOTES

*On the preceding Paper, On the Order and Government of a Nobleman's House.*

“*Earable*,” p. 315, arable.

Illustrative of this “Order and Government of a Nobleman's House,” are two accounts printed among the notes of the Northumberland Household Book, p. 419 et seq. “An Account how the Earl of Worcester lived at Ragland Castle, before the Civil Wars, [begun in 1641,]” and “Lord Fairfax's Orders for the Servants of his Household [after the Civil Wars].”—Consult also Fleta on this subject.—See also “The Boke of Carvinge,” Black Letter, no date.

In the List of Birds and Fowls here served up at Table in a Nobleman's House, it is hardly necessary to observe that many, if not the most of them, are considered at this time as being rank carrion.

To make the “*Bustarde*” palatable, [p. 341.] Muffett in his Treatise on Food, London, 1655, 4to. p. 91, gives the following very curious prescription:

“Chuse the youngest and fattest about Allhalontide, (for then they are best) and diet him a day or two with a little white bread, or rather keep him altogether fasting, that he may scour away his ordure: then let him bleed to death in the neck-veins; and having hanged three or four daies in a cool place out of the moonshine, either roast it, or bake it, as you do a turkie, and it will prove both a dainty and a wholesome meat.”

To render “the *Storcke, Bitter, and Hernne*, (Heron) p. 341,” fit to be eaten, he advises, ut supra, p. 93.—“Chuse the youngest and fattest, for they may be eaten, so with much spice, salt or onions, and beeing thoroughly steept in a draught of old wine. If they be drest without their skins, they relish far better, according to the French and the best fashion, who also stuff them full of sweet herbs, and draw them with fine and small lard.”

“*Craynes*,” p. 341, say the Notes to the Northumberland Household Book, are now judged to have forsaken this island, then almost as common as the Heron or Heron-Sew.

The *Bitter* is the *Bittern* of Ray—“*Ardea Stellaris*.”

*Cranes*, says Muffett, ut supra, p. 91. “as old Dr. Turner writ unto Gesner, breed in our English fens—being young, killed with a goshawk, and hanged two or three days



daies by the heels, eaten with hot Galentine, and drowned in Sack, it is permitted unto indifferent stomachs."

In the north of England the *Shag* is called the *Crane*.

"*Egrett*," p. 341. "*Egrets*," says Pennant in his British Zoology, Vol. II. p. 717, "a species of Heron, now scarce known in this island, were in former times in prodigious plenty." Skinner hazards the following etymology, "Nescio an a nostro *Eager*, acer, quia fc. vehemens est in præda venanda."

*Curlewiake*, p. 341. Can this be the *Curwilet* or Sanderling, mentioned by Ray, as so called about Penzans? It is about the bigness of the lesser *Tringa*, or Sandpiper, and wants the back claw, by which note it may easily be known from all others of its kind. Ray, 8vo. p. 90.

*Puett*, p. 341.—See Pennant, Vol. II. p. 453.

*Bayninge*, p. 341. No account can be found of this fowl.

*Shoveller*, p. 341. See Muffett, ut supra, p. 109. *Shovelard*, Merrett's Pinax, p. 181. *Anas Platyrnchos*, five *Clypeata Germanica*. Aldr. Ray, p. 28. Pennant, Vol. II. p. 596.

*Brue*, p. 341, unknown.—The word "*Brew*" as a fowl occurs in several places in that most rare old tract, "The Booke of Carvinge," Black Letter, signat. A. 8 b. where it follows the "*Curlew*."—Also signat. B. 4. and we read signat. I. 6. b. "Untache that Brew.—Take a Brew and raise his legs and wings, &c.—No fauce but onely falt."

*Redshanke*, p. 341, or pool snipe, *Totanus*, Gesn. and *Gallinula Erythropus major ejusdem*. Ray, ut supra, p. 26. Pennant II. 446.

*Knotte*, p. 341.—"That is King Knout or Knute (*Canutus*) his bird, *Cinclus Bellonii* an *Callidrys cinerea*?" Ray, p. 26. Pennant II. 461.

*Blankett*, p. 341—spelled "*Blonkett*" p. 352—unknown.

*Indecoke*, p. 341. Probably this is a mistake in the transcriber for *Judecoke*.

*Cudberduce*, p. 341. *The Cuthbert-Duck*, *Anas Sancti Cuthberti*, building only, says Ray, 8vo. p. 96, on the Farn Island upon the coast of Northumberland.

*Cullver*, p. 341—ab A. S. *culþpe*. *Columba*. Pidgeon or Dove. Skinner.

*Godwite*, p. 341. Godwit, see Muffett, p. 99, where he tells us that a "fat Godwit is so fine and light a meat, that noblemen (yea, and merchants too by your leave) sticke not to buy them at four nobles a dozen.

Lincolnshire affordeth great plenty of them, elsewhere they are rare in England, wheresoever I have travailed."—See Ray's Willughby, p. 292—The Godwit or Stone-plover.

*Dotterell*, p. 341. See Pennant's Zoology, Vol. II. p. 477.

*Finshes*, p. 341. Muffett on Food, p. 103, does not overlook this species of small birds. "He says they live for the most part upon seeds, especially the Gold-finch, which refuseth to eat any thing else."

*Stentts*, p. 342. Stintes are birds that frequent the banks of rivers and sea-shores in winter. They are described under the name of Purre in the British Zoology, Vol. II. p. 472. Notes to Northumberland Household Book.

*Goldnye*, p. 343. Ray's Willoughby, p. 28. The Golden Eye. *Clangula*. *Gefn*. Pen. II. 587.

*Jedcokes*, p. 343. "The Gid, or Jack-snipe, or Iudcock." Ray's Willoughby, p. 291.

*Chitt*, p. 350. Can this be the radical name, so often used in composition White-chat, Woodchat, Black-chat. Ray's Willoughby, p. 21—24?

*Kennices*, p. 350, unknown.

*Churre*, p. 350, unknown.

*Stares*, p. 352. Stare or *Starling*. Merrett's Pinax, p. 177.—"Stares flesh," says Muffett, p. 101, "is dry and favery, and good agaynst all poyson, if Kiranides bee not mistaken."

*Petterells*, p. 352. See Pennant's Zoology, Vol. II, p. 549.

*Tearne*, p. 352. The Sea Swallow. See Notes to Northumberland Household Book.

*Auke*, p. 354. See Pennant's Zoology, Vol. II. p. 507. In his Tour in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 47, he says, that on the Farn Islands *Auks* are called *Skouts*.

*Mullett*, p. 354, unknown.

*Dunlings*, p. 359. "So called in the north. It is of the bigness of a Jack-snipe." See also Ray's Willoughby, p. 305. Randle Holme.

*Elke*, p. 368. Ray's Willoughby, p. 28. "The Elk, Hooper, or Wild Swan, *Cygnus ferus*." He gives a print of its head, Tab. LXIX. Pennant II. 562.

*Barnakle*, p. 368. "The Bernacle or Clakis. *Bernicla* five *Bernacla*." Ray's Willoughby, p. 28. Ray II. 488.

*Puffine*, p. 368. "Puffins (says Muffett, p. 108) being Birds and no Birds, that is to say, Birds in shew and Fish in substance, or, as one may justly call them, feathered Fishes, are of ill taste and worse digestion, how dainty soever they may seem to strange appetites, and are permitted by Popes to be eaten in Lent."



## F I S H.

*Tunny*, p. 341. "Called in Cornwall," says Ray, "Spanish Mackrell, of which we saw a large one taken at Penzans." Pen. III. 266.

*Porpoſſe*, p. 341. Muffet on Food, p. 165, tells us, "*Porpoſſes, Turſions, or Sea-Hogs*, are of the nature of Swine, never good till they be fat, contrary to the diſpoſition of Tunnies, whoſe fleſh is ever beſt when they are leanest. It is an unfavoury meat, engendering many ſuperfluous humours, augmenting fleagm, and troubling no leſs an indifferent ſtomach, then they trouble the water againſt a tempeſt: yet many ladies and gentlemen love it exceedingly, baſt like veniſon: yea, I knew a great gentlewoman, in Warwick Lane, once ſend for a paſty of it given from a courtier, when the priſoners of Newgate had reſuſed the Fellow of it out of the begger's baſket. Thus *like lips like lettice*, and that which is moſt men's bane, may be fitteſt to delight and nourish others."

*Sealump*, p. 341. "Lumps are of two ſorts," ſays Muffet, p. 156, (Pen. III. 133,) "the one as round almoſt as a Bowle, the other reſembling the fillets of a Calfe: either of them is deformed, ſhapeleſs, and ugly, ſo that my maides once at Ipſwich were afraid to touch it. They are beſt being boiled and pickled like Sturgian, and ſo eaten cold."

*Chevine*, p. 341. "The Chub or Chevin, Capito. *Cephalus Fluv.*" Ray. Pennant III. 368.

*Crevices*, p. 341. Muffett tells us, p. 178, "We do fooliſhly to eat them laſt being a fine temperate and nourishing meat."

They are thus mentioned in Skinner, "Cray-Fiſh, vel potius Crevice—*Aſtacus fluviatilis, quibusdam minus proprie, Cancer fluviatilis.*"

*Seale*, p. 341. "Seale's Fleſh," ſays Muffett, p. 167, "is counted hard of digeſtion, as it is groſs of ſubſtance, eſpecially being old; wherefore I leave it to mariners and failers, for whoſe ſtomacks it is fitteſt, and who know the beſt way how to prepare it."

*Rudds*, p. 341. Skinner ſays, "*Piſcis Rutilo piſci cognatus, vide Roche and Red.*" Pen. III. 363.

*Bream*, p. 341. "*Cyprinus latus, Abramis.*" Ray. Pennant III. 362.

*Habberdine*, p. 343. The Notes to the Northumberland Houſehold Book ſay, "This is the Northern Term for barreled Cod. Vid. Willughby, 166, ſo called from Aberdeen, anciently famous for curing this kind of fiſh."

*Britt*, p. 348. *Brett*, the northern name for a Turbot. Pen. III. 233. "The names of Turbot and Halibut are confounded in ſeveral countreys. What in the weſt they call

the Halibut, in the north they call the Turbot, and the Turbot the Bret; nay, in some parts of the west of England they call the Turbot Bret, and the Halibut Turbot." Ray.

*Cunninge*, p. 348, unknown.

*Rochetts*, p. 348. "*Rochets*, or rather Rougets, because they are so red," says Muffett, p. 166, "differ from Gurnards and Curs, in that they are redder by a great deal, and also lesser. They are of the like flesh and goodness."

*Mades*, p. 348. "Maides," says Muffett, p. 157, "are as little and tender Skates."

*Dabes*, p. 348. "*Passer asper*, seu squamosus, Rondel." Ray. Pennant III. 230.

*Burbott*, p. 348. Pennant III. 199 [a].

*Mopps*, p. 370. In Dale's History of Harwich and Dover Court. London, 1732, 4to. p. 428, speaking of fishes, that author says, "The Whiting is here frequently, and is caught both by nets and hooks, baited with sea-worms, called in some places Spruling. It is a very tender fish, and easy of digestion. The young ones are called Whiting Mops. The figure of this Fish in Willoughby, Tab. L No. 5, is good."

*Claretwine*, p. 369. The Notes to the Northumberland Household Book say, "The Claret Wine was what the Gascoigns call at present Vin Claret, being a pale red wine, as distinguished from the deeper reds, and was the produce of a district near Bourdeaux, called Graves, whence the English in ancient times fetched the wine they called Claret, and concerning which many very particular regulations may be found in the old Chronique de Bourdeaux."

*Sanders*, p. 369. "This fragrant wood [b]," say the same notes, "brought from the East Indies, was principally used for colouring the confections red, as *Saffron* was for tinging them yellow." See Lewis's Materia Medica, p. 517.

*Calves Mugget*, p. 370. In Cornwall a Mugitty Pye is a pye made of Calves in-trails.

*Andulees*, p. 371. "Andolian (term in Cookery) is a kind of pudding, made of Hogs Guts, filled with spice, and one gut drawn after another. Some write it Annolia." Randle Holme.

*Colflorry*, p. 371. "Cole-Florie, or after some, Colie Flore, &c." Gerard's Herbal, p. 314.

*Navoyes*, p. 371. "Neveves." See Gerard's Herbal, p. 235.

*Purflinge*, p. 371. See Gerard's Herbal, p. 521.

*Colregoe*, p. 371. See Gerard's Herbal, p. 447.

*Skerretts*, p. 371. See Gerard's Herbal, p. 1026.

[a] N. B. The edition of the Zoology cited in these notes is that of London 1776, 8vo.

[b] The colour afforded by sweet Saunders is not red but yellow. Probably both were used for culinary purposes. S. L.



*Cheate*, p. 372. In a curious MS. in the Archives of this Society, given by Bp. Lyttelton, intitled, "The Clerk of the Kitchens Weekely Account of Provisions brought in and spent at Longford, a mile distant from Newport in Shropshire, the seat of Mr. Talbot, anno 1577." "*Chetebred*"—" *Manchett*" and "*Household Bread*," occur. There is mentioned, *ibid*, "*Wheat for Manchett at 4s. 6d. the Strike*."—" *Whete for Chetbred at 4s. the Strike*."—" *Mungecorne for Household Bread at 3s. the Strike*."

"*Manchet*," p. 372, says Rand. Holme, "is White Bread made in rols, broad in the middle and sharp at the end."

*Ranchet*, p. 372, a species of bread unknown.

*Turnsaile*, p. 369. Gerarde, in his Herbal, p. 336, tells us, "With the small Tornsole, Heliotropium, they in France doe die Linnen Raggs, or Clouts, into a perfect Purple Colour, wherewith cookes and confectioners do colour jellies, wines, meates, and sundry confectures, which clouts in shops be called Tornesole, after the name of the herbe."

*Iselbons 2*, p. 371. "An Ice bone, *i. e.* a Rump of Beef—Norfolk." Ray, p. 69.

*Standaxe*, p. 383, passage. "Strawe is to bee given to the draughte oxen and cattell at the *Standaxe*, or the *Barnedores* for sparing of hay." Quære, is this a corruption of "Stand Ox?" *i. e.* *Stand* for the *Oxen*. J. Brand.





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A P P E N D I X.

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COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY  
OF  
ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

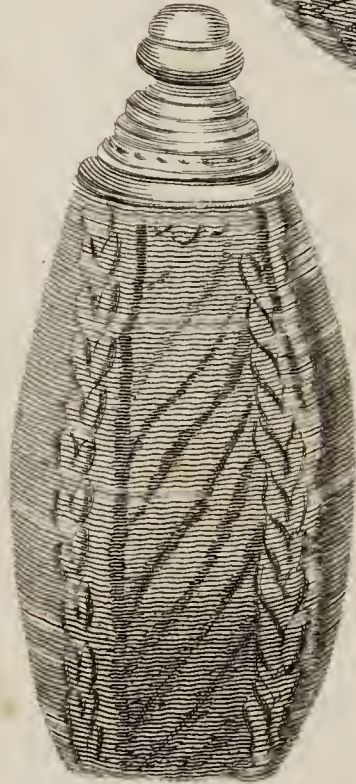
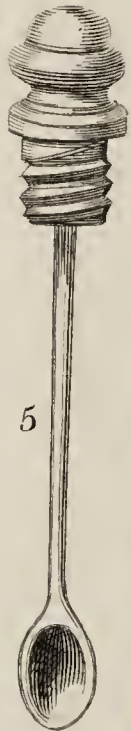
That such curious communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire*, be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archaeologia.







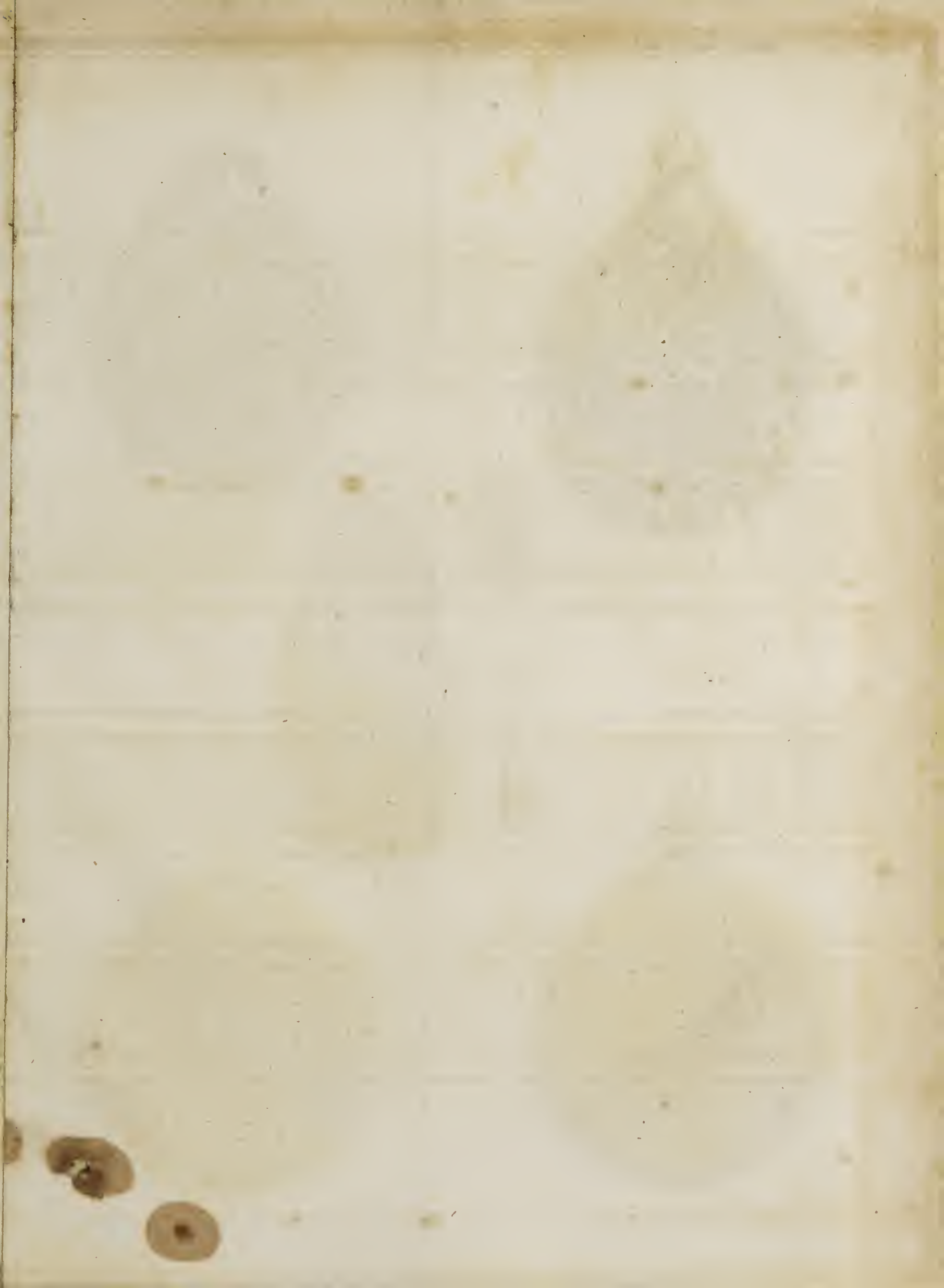




Ancient Snuff Boxes

*B. J. ...*





h e g g : o o m o s : a b b a m e : f u e

d e : r a p h e r w p h a : o e


a n n o : m i l l e n o : m r i c e

p r i m o : x p q e l p a r e

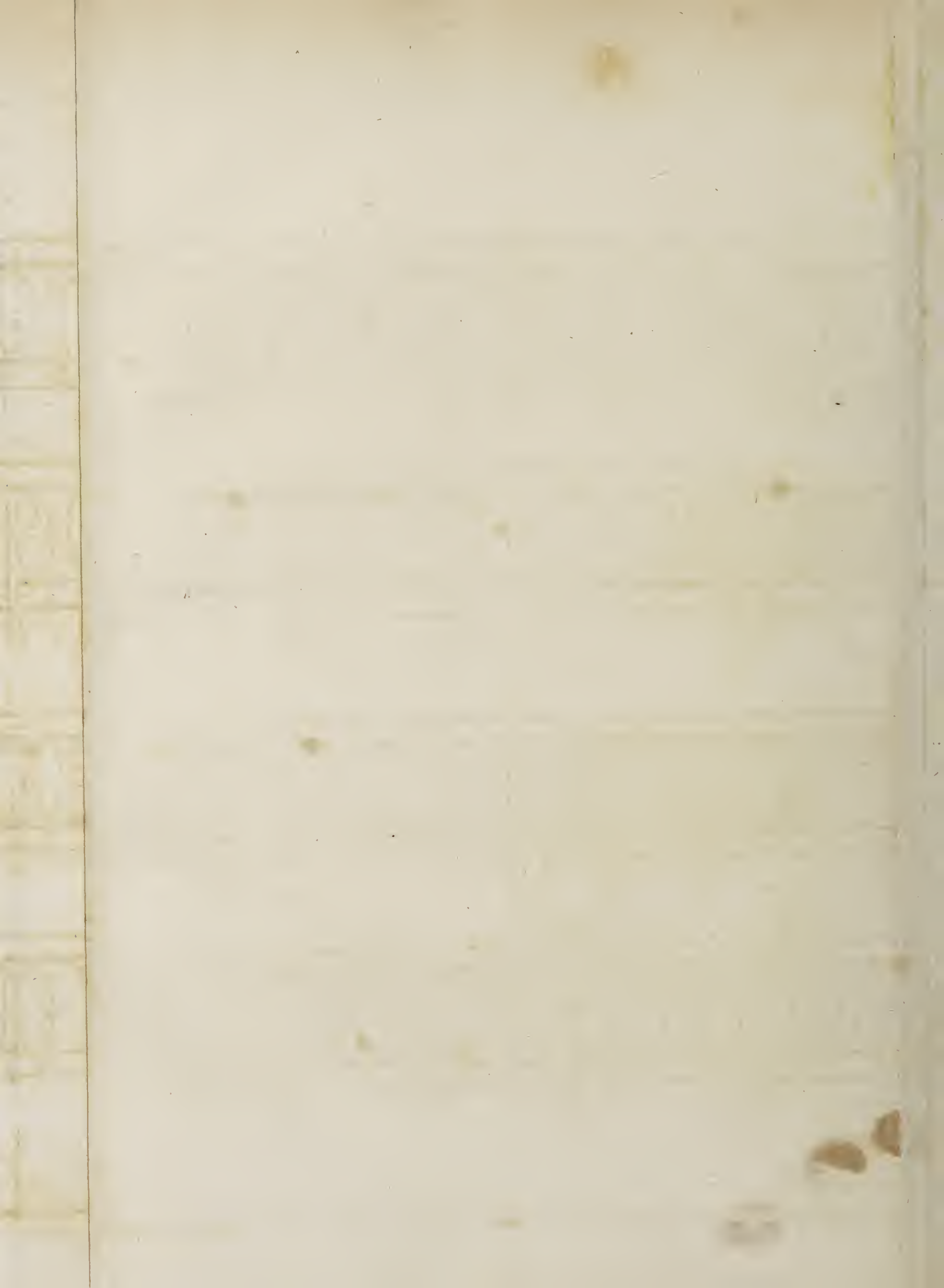


VERA: GONGWURDIA: OHANNE:

GOB: OB: SANGMIBNIGHOLIAN:

ENO: BISO: UIGENO: 

SP: HING: SEDE: REQUA:





## A P P E N D I X.

## PLATE XXIV.

Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, represent two old snuff boxes, of a very singular form, found some time ago under a stair-case in the Tower of London, in what is now Mr. Bellis's house. Exhibited by Colonel Smith, November 16, 1797.

The spoon still remains in one of them, fig. 5. One of them (fig. 3, 4,) has inscriptions in old French, one of which (fig. 3.) seems to be,

DONEVR EVX QVI IY RCVRAIRE AVTANT.

Fig. 1, 2, is shewn in profile at fig. 6.

They exhibit also rude designs of stag-hunting, bull-baiting, &c.

## PLATE XXV.

A fac simile, communicated by Craven Ord, Esq. of the following inscription, taken from a stone now remaining in the east wall of the chancel of Great Bookham church, in Surry, and which commemorates its building in 1341 by John Rutherwyck, then abbot of the monastery of Chertsey.

“ Hec domus abbati fuerat constructa Johanne  
de Rutherwyka, decus ob Sancti Nicholai  
anno milleno, triceno, bisque viceno  
primo. Christus ei paret hinc sedem requiei.”

*Copy of an Original Record. Communicated by Craven Ord, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read May 26, 1796.

Edwarde the sixte by the grace of God king of Englande, Fraunce, and Ireland, defendour of the faythe, and of the church of Englonde, and also of Irelande, in erthe the sup̃me hedd. To all men of honoure, lordes and gentlemen, and all other our officers, ministres, and subjectes gretyng. Where as of a long tyme there hath no visitacion or surveye ben made by anye Heralde or officer of armes within our domynyon of Wales and Marches of the same, wherof hath ryfen no lesse error in the usyng, bearyng, and takyng of armes, crestes, and tokens of nobilitie, then debate and contrõfy aboute titles of inheritaunce, lyke to folowe to the greate troble and dysquiet of our loving subjectes, namelie, of gentlemen in the parties aforesaid, if reformacion be nott hadd. Willinge therefore as well to avoide all suche doubtes and contrõfies as by that occacion maye herafter ensue, as also to have one c̃teyn ordre to be observed in the p̃misses. We, for the speciall truste and confidence whiche we have in our welbeloved s̃ṽnte Fulke Apowell, alias Lancaster, one of our heraldes of armes, have geven and graunted, and by these p̃sentes doe gyve and graunte unto our said s̃ṽnte full power and authoritic duryng his lyef, at all tymes from hensfourthe when he shall thinke mete as well to visite and repayer to the houses, mansyons, and dwellynge of all nobles and gentylnen in the parties aforesaide, as also to p̃use, reforme, and correcte all armes, crestes, and tokens of nobilitie, wrongefully and unlawfully taken, used, or borne, within the said p̃vince; and moreover to take the notice of all discentes, mariages, and pedegrees of nobles and gentlemen



tlemen in the parties aforefaide, wherby he maye make unto us a true and perfecte regestre and recorde of the same, and further to doo, execute, and exercise, within the said p̃vince, all other thinges whiche by lawe or custume have app̃teyned to the jurisdiccion, power, and office of armes, accordynge to the lawes of the same. Willinge, therefore, and requiring yow and eṽy of yow not only to be aydyng and assistyng to our said officer in the execuõion of thies p̃sentes, but also withe all gentlenes and curtesey to use and entreate hym as to the dignitie of the office app̃teynethe. In witness wherof we have caused thies our l̃res to be made patentes. Witnesseinge our selfe at Leighes the nynethe daye of June in the fourthe yere of our reign.

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*Farther Extracts from an Original Manuscript in the Possession of Dr. Leith. (See p. 27 of this Volume.)*

Read May 12, 1796.

*“ At the Tower of London, viz.*

Bowes with <sup>xx</sup> ccciiij vi decaied	8185
Bowstaves - - -	6019 inde 938 unfervic.
Wreckes of Bowstaves -	983
<i>Slurbowes</i> - - -	15 inde 1 lacks a <i>bender</i> .
Crossbowes - - -	180 inde 1 lacks a <i>tiller</i> .
Bowstringes - - -	196 gros—10 doz.

*Arrowes, viz.*

Lyvery arrowes 14125 these, whercof 731 these to be repayred, and 30 these decaied.

*Slurbowe*

*Slurbowe arrowes* 132, *whereof* 12 *with fierwoorkes.*

Crofbowe arrowes decaied 500.

Muskett arrowes with 56 to be new fethered 892 these 13 arrows,  
and one case full for a di. culvering.

Longebow arrowes for fier woorks 12 these, and

Longbowe arrowes with fierwoorks 98 these decaied."

*“ At Woolwich, viz.*

Bowes to be repayred	-	-	-	-	76
<i>Slurbowes</i>	-	-	-	-	2
Crofbowes	-	-	-	-	2
Bowstaves	-	-	-	-	6019
<i>Slurbowes</i>	-	-	-	-	47
Crofbowes for fier woorks	-	-	-	-	194
Wrecke of bowestaves	-	-	-	-	983

*Arrowes, viz.*

Lyvery arrowes with 30 these thereof decaied 170 these.

*Slurbowe arrowes* 127.

Long bowe arrowes with fier woorkes 24, and

Muskett arrowes with 22 these to be new fethered 24 these 18 arr."

*“ At Rochester, viz.*

Bowes inde 6 decaied	-	-	-	-	141
<i>Slurbowes</i>	-	-	-	-	10
Crofbowes	-	-	-	-	6
Bowstrings inde 10 doz. decaied 44 doz.					
Bowestringes 205 gros 2 doz. 10 stringes.					
Lyvery arrowes 15418 these.					



*Arrowes, viz.*

Lyvery arrowes with 75 shefe decaied 192 shefe  
*Of Shurbow arrowes 47 decaied.*  
*Shurbowe arrowes with fierwoorkes 605.*  
 Arrowes for fierwoorkes decaied 75.  
 Arrowes for fierwoorkes 16 shefe 3 arrowes.  
 Muskett arrowes 13 shefe 13 arr.  
 Longe bowe arrowes with fier woorkes 109 shefe 4 arr.  
 Brasers 38.  
 Shooting Gloves 156.  
 Muskett arrowes 983 shef. 6 arr."

*" At the Shippes in Harborowe, viz.*

Bowes	233
<i>Shurbowes</i>	10
Crofbowes	2
Bowstringes	17 doz. 4 stringes.
Lyvery arrowes	423 shef.
Bracers	38
Shooting Gloves	156

Crofbowe arrowes 500 decaied.  
*Shurbowe arrowes with fierwoorkes 184. inde 19 without fierwoorks.*  
 Longebowe arrowes with fierwoorks. 4 shef. 1 arr.  
 Muskett arrowes 24 shef. 10 arr. inde 2 shef. dec."

*" At the Shippes at Seas, viz.*

Bowes	214
<i>Shurbowes</i>	10
Crofbowes	4

Bowstringes

Bowstrings	43 doz. di.
Lyvery arrowes	407 shefe.
Shurbowe arrowes	115 inde 14 with fier woorks.
Longebowe arrowes with fierwoorks	6 shef. 3 arrows
Arrowes for fier woorks	1 shefe.
Muskett arrowes	28 shefe."

In an original Office MS. 1 Ed. VI. preserved in the archives of this Society, in the account of the Artillery, &c. of Calice, are the following articles :

" Crosbowes called Rodds	-	-	-	98
Crosbowes called Lathes	-	-	-	12
Wenlaffes for them	-	-	-	120
Benders to bend small crosbowes	-	-	-	14."

---

*Pl. XXVI. Fig. 3. represents an impression from the Matrix of a Seal lately found on the Great Mount of Earth below White Chapel Church. Exhibited Feb. 2, 1797, by Dr. Hulme.*

This seal appears to have belonged to the prior of the Friars Austins of Norwich, supposed to be of the time of Edward III. It represents St. Michael the archangel vanquishing the devil, under the form of a dragon. The inscription is

" S. prioris Fratrum ordinis Sancti Augustini, Norwici."

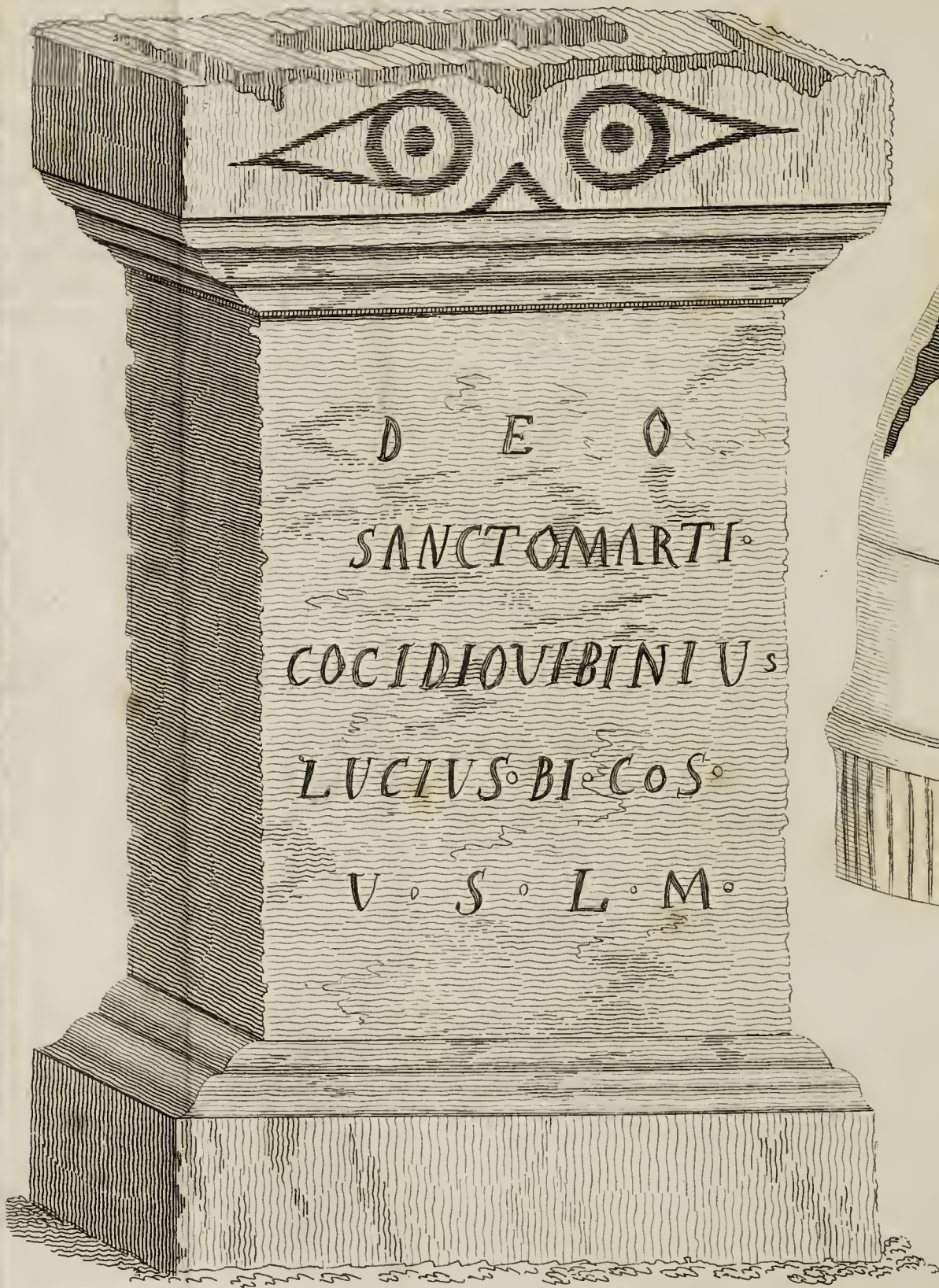
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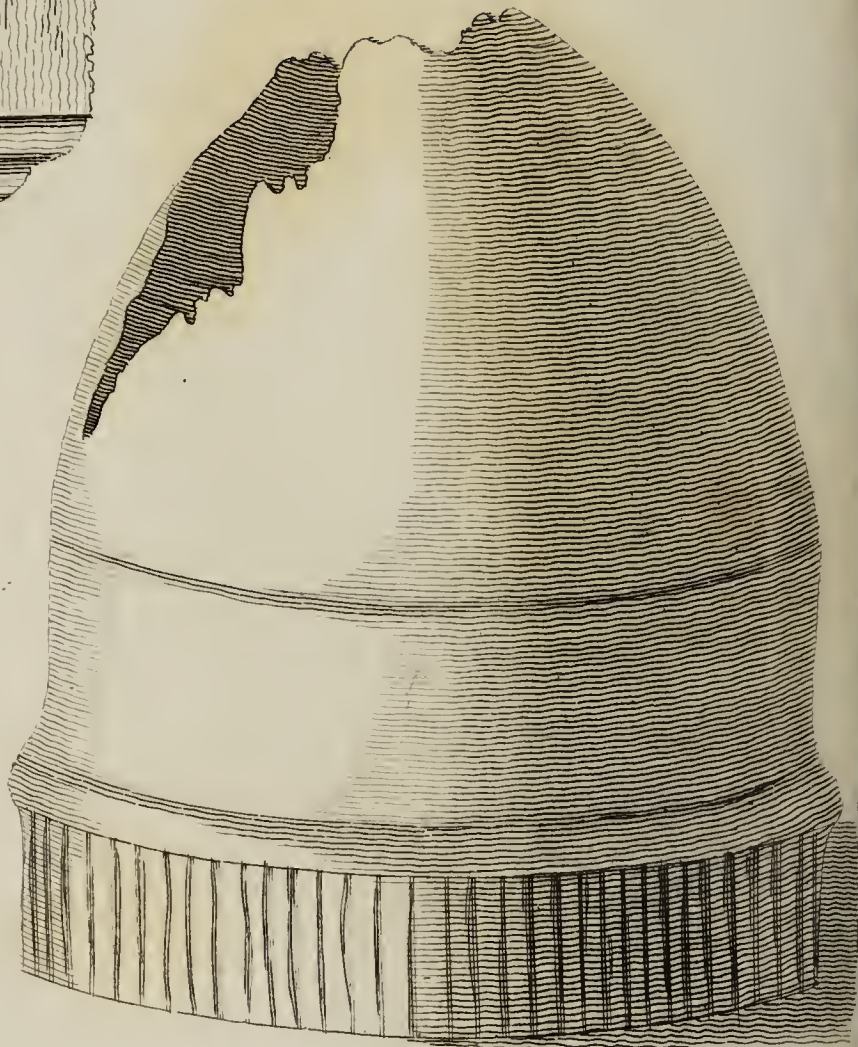




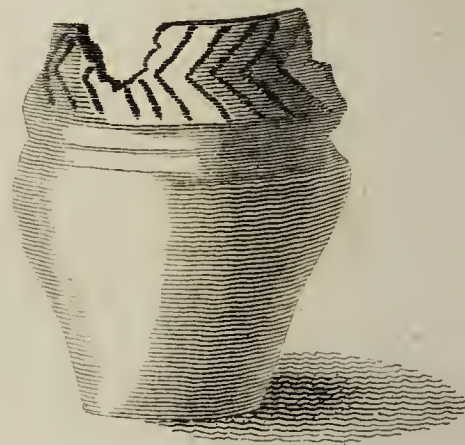
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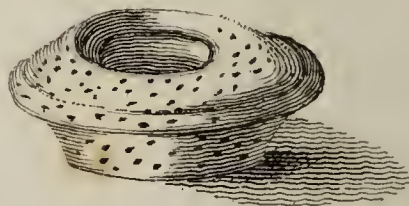
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3



6





The Friars Austins, says Tanner, were settled at Norwich between the parishes of St. Peter, Permonter-gate, and St. Michael in Conisford, before the 18th of Edward I. Speed makes one of the bishops of Norwich founder. Stowe ascribes the foundation to one Remigius, others to Roger Minieth. After the dissolution the site of this priory was granted 2 Ed. VI. to sir Thomas Henneage, and was within the walled piece of ground popularly known by the name of "My Lord's Gardens."

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Pl. XXVI. fig. 2. represents an impression from the matrix of a seal lately found in a garden near the remains of the House belonging to the Black Friars in the parish of St. Ebbe in the south suburbs of the city of Oxford. The seal is in the possession of Mr. Henry Hinton, Ironmonger of Oxford.

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*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Francis Lee, A. M. to Mark Masterman Sykes, Esq. F. A. S.*

Read March 16, 1797.

"The annexed representation (see Pl. XXVI. fig. 1.) is a facsimile of a Roman altar lately found at Lancaster. It was dug up in clearing away some earth for improving and enlarging the castle. This antique relick lay concealed at a little distance without the old wall between Adrian's [a] round tower and the great square one of Saxon architecture.

[a] So called, and the lower part of the tower is evidently of Roman workmanship.

The discovery of this votive tablet seems to indicate this to have been the situation of the Roman station *Longovicum*, mentioned in the itinerary of Antoninus, where the imperial lieutenant of Britain (as the *Notitia* informs us) kept a company of the *Longovici* in garrison."

				ft.	in.
The height of the altar is	-	-	-	2	2½
The width at the base	-	-	-	1	4
————— middle	-	-	-	1	0
Its thickness at the base	-	-	-	1	0
————— middle	-	-	-	0	10"

The inscription appears to be DEO. SANCTO. MARTI. COCIDIO. VIBINIUS LVCIVS. BI. C.S. V.S. L.M. BI is a contraction of Balbius on the authority of Manutius. The small o between C. and S. is probably a stop, since no such name as Vibinius Lucius Balbius occurs in the list of consuls given at the end of Horsley's *Britannia Romana*; the two letters C. S. are well known to signify communi sumptu.

Three altars have been found in Cumberland dedicated to the local deity *Cocideus*. See *Archaeologia*, Vol. XI. p. 70, and Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 257.

The inscription in Horsley is *DEO COCIDI*, which he supposed to be the dative of *Cocis*, but from these recent discoveries it appears to have been *Cocideus* or *Cocidius*, and an addition to the name of *Mars*. The O was probably omitted in the former for want of room, as the I is quite at the edge of the altar.



April 6, 1797.

Robert Aldersey, *Esq.* F. R. S. exhibited to the Society a curious Original Paper, dated in May 1577, indorsed "Thomas Shakespeares Bill," of which the following is a copy:

*" Mensis Maii A. Regni Regine  
Elizabeth decimo nono 1577.*

" Thomas Shakespeare, one of the messengers of the Queenes Ma<sup>ts</sup>. chamber, asketh allowaunce for being sent, by the comaundment of the Q. Ma<sup>ts</sup>. most honerable pryvie counsell from the court at Grenew<sup>ch</sup> to the Lord Bifshopp of London being at his house at Fulham, and ther to hym dd Ires from thence to the Lord Bifshopp of Yorke being at Tower Hill, and ther to hym delivered Ires; and from thence to the Bifshopp of Chichester being at Westm<sup>r</sup>. and ther to him delivered Ires; and from thence to the Lord Bifshopp of Durham lyeing in Aldersgate Streate, and ther to hym delivered Ires; and from thence to the Lord Bifshopp of Worcester lyeing at Paules Church Yard, and ther to hym delivered Ires; wherefore the said Thomas prayeth to have allowance for his chardgs and paynes, to be rated and paid by the treasurer of the Queenes Majesties chamber.

vi.  
E  
viii<sup>d</sup>.

FRA. WALSYNGHAM."

*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Henry Crowe to John Homfray, Esq.*

Read Nov. 8, 1798.

“ In levelling a barrow on Buxton Common, about nine miles N. E. of Norwich, the workmen found at nine or ten feet from the surface a few bones, and near them the large urn, (Pl. XXVI. fig. 4.) having its mouth downwards, covering a small heap of bones, which from their imperfect state, and whitish appearance, seem to have been burnt. In digging to the west they discovered three small urns alike (Pl. XXVI. fig. 5.) placed in a row, and near them ten or twelve of the same, all with their mouths downwards. Under these, which were in a cluster, was a stratum of earth, from its reddish colour probably burnt, covering an oval cavity of about four feet by five, which was filled with a considerable quantity of charcoal, or burnt wood, in large pieces of eight or ten inches long. Amongst these, and in the stratum of earth, were bones alike in appearance to those in the large urn.

The large urn is of the most coarse and ordinary pottery imaginable, and, as it crumbles between the fingers, may possibly have never been burnt. The bottom, being placed upwards, was broken by the workmen. The inside appeared as if blackened by smoke. The smaller one, (fig. 5.) though imperfect, is the least so of twelve or fourteen which were found; in substance not quite so soft as the other. The third vessel (Pl. XXVI. fig. 6.) may possibly have been a lamp; its shape somewhat resembles the upper part of a lid to an urn, but it does not appear to have been broken off. It is of rude workmanship, but harder than the others. The holes seem to have been ornamental, as they do not perforate it. It was found among  
many



many very imperfect fragments in different parts of the ground. The colour of the third is a light brown.

The barrow is about twenty-four yards in diameter at the base."



*Remarks on the Ninth Volume of the Archaeologia. Communicated in a Letter from the Rev. Thomas Crane to the President.*

Read Nov. 16, 1797.

On the *Pig of Lead*, Vol. IX. p. 45.

The inscription is thus given, p. 46, compared with p. 48.

TI. CL. TR. LVT. BR. EX. ARG.

Mr. Pegge's attempt to explain this line is erroneous. Read thus:

Tiberii Claudii Tributum, lutum Britannico ex Argento.

"The Tribute of Tiberius Claudius, paid out of British Money."

On the *Brereton Window*, Vol. IX. Pl. 23.

Below the armed figures, the fifth, seventh, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth words, are *erroneously* copied. The *hexameters* are not *two*, but *four* lines. It is unnecessary to point out *minutely* the *literal* errors; if the words had been *not* abbreviated, the whole inscription would have been thus:

Ricardus

Ricardus Bruto [a], nec non Morellius Hugo,  
 Willelmus Traci, Reginaldus Filius Urſi;  
 Martyrio Thomam fieri fecere beatum :  
 Anno milleno centeno ſeptuageno.

“ Richard Briton, and alſo Hugh Morrell, William Traci, Reginald Fitz Urſe, cauſed Thomas to be bleſſed by martyrdom, in the year 1170.” The Latin is not elegant : but the *verſe* and *ſenſe* prove this alone muſt be the *proper reading*.

[a] Bruto for Brito is no error. *Sister* was anciently written *Suſter*. The Welch *u* has now ſometimes the ſound of the Engliſh *i*.

Perhaps the words under the middle armed figure ſhould have been “ *Martyrium Thomæ* ;” for *Martyrum Thomam* is an expreſſion ungrammatical. T. C.

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Read June 26, 1800.

As an Appendix to an account of certain inſcriptions diſcovered lately on the walls of a room in the Tower of London, printed in this volume, p. 68, and particularly the very intereſting Auto-graphs found there of the amiable and unfortunate lady Jane Grey, the Secretary requeſts permiſſion to lay before the Society a copy of an exceedingly rare (if not unique) printed tract, not noticed that he can find in Ames or Herbert, one part of which is entitled, “ The Ende of the Ladye Jane upon the Scaffolde.” It is without date, but contains internal evidence of having been printed immediately after that event in the firſt year of the reign of queen Mary.

“ The



“ The Ende of the Lady Jane Dudley, Doughter to the Duke of Suffolke upon the Scaffolde, at the houre of her death, being the 12 day of February.

Fyrst, whan she was mounted on the scaffolde, she sayd to the people standinge thereabout, Good people, I com hether to die, and by a lawe I am condemned to the same. The facte, indede, against the queenes highnes was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me, but touching the procurement and desyre therof by me, or on my halfe, I doo wash my handes thereof in innocencie, before God and the face of you good christian people this day, and therewith she wrong her handes in which she had her booke. Then she sayd, I pray you all good christian people to bere me wytnes that I dye a true christian woman, and that I looke to be saved by none other mene but only by the mercy of God, in the merites of the bloud of his onlye sonne Jesus Christe, and I confesse when I dyd know the word of God, I neglected the same and loved myselfe and the world, and therefore this plage or punyshment is happely and worthely happened unto me for my sinnes. And yet I thanke God of his goodnes that he hath thus geven me a tyme and respet to repent. And now good people while I am alyve I pray you to assyst me with your prayers. And then she knelyng downe, she turned to Fecknam, saying, Shall I say this Psalm? and he said yea. Then she said the Psalm of Misereri Mei Deus in English in most devout maner to thende. Then she stode up and gave her mayde Mistres Tylney her gloves and handkercher, and her booke to Maistre Thomas Brydges, the lyvetenantes brother. Forthwith she untyed her gowne. The hangman went to her to have helped her of therewith, then she desyred him to let her alone, turning towards her

two gentlewomen, who helped her of therewith, and also her Frose paste and neckecher, geving to her a fayre handkercher to knytte about her eyes. Then the hangman-kneled downe, and asked her forgevenes, whome she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the strawe, which doing she sawe the blocke. Then she sayd I pray the dispatche me quickly. Than she kneeled downe saying, Wil you take it of before I lay me downe? And the hangman answered her, No, madame. She tyed the kercher about her eyes. Than feeling for the blocke, saide, What shal I do, where is it? One of the standers by guyding her therunto, she layde her head downe upon the block, and stretched forth her body, and sayd, Lorde, into thy handes I commende my spirite.

And so she ended."

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*Note for page 25.*

On comparing the drawing of Mr. Noble's Coin with a silver three-pence of the York Mint, they appeared to tally so exactly with each other in size as well as in every other respect, that it cannot reasonably be doubted but the former was struck in gold from the dye of the silver three-pence. S. L.

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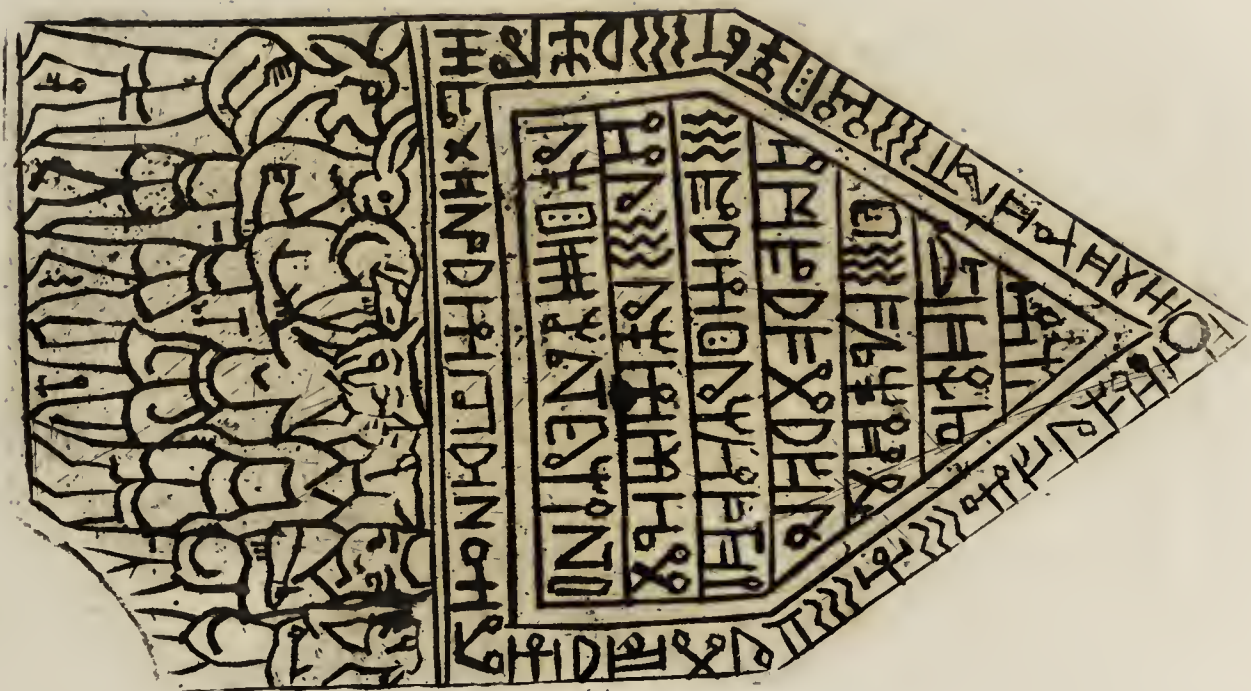
Jan. 10, 1799.

The Rev. Thomas Coxe, F. A. S. exhibited to the Society an ancient Ægyptian engraved copper-plate, from which the impressions on the opposite page are taken.

*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Thomas Coxe, F. A. S. to the Rev. John Brand, Secretary.*

"The Plate hath been compared with the two antique engravings formerly in the possession of Dr. Mead, afterwards of Mr. Duane,  
and





17  
The 21<sup>st</sup> of  
the 11<sup>th</sup> month  
of the year  
1757

2  
The 21<sup>st</sup> of  
the 11<sup>th</sup> month  
of the year  
1757



and now in the British Museum. With these engravings it hath in common the seven Egyptian figures on the one side, viz. The Holy Ape, the Cat or Bubastes, the Dog or Anubis, the Bull or Apis, the Ram or Ammon, the Hare and Afs, each figure having its appropriate symbol at the bottom, which symbol in the compartments above is tripled, and then seven times multiplied. On the other side, where the other seven figures or angels are, the same symbol is also tripled, and then thrice multiplied. We will take, for instance, the symbol under the Ram like a wave. This symbol is frequently met with on obelisks, and almost every Egyptian remain on which hieroglyphics are sculptured. It is also found upon Etruscan and Greek vases, which vases, as may be proved from the coverings on mummies having many figures in common. This symbol is generally thought to be expressive of water, and in Egypt of the Nile. On the Etruscan or Greek vases in the princely collection of our celebrated ambassador at Naples (where it frequently occurs) it is understood to have the same signification.

The figures on the other side are also seven. In this and the engravings referred to in the British Museum I take it to be a numerical talisman of three by seven and three by three."

P. S. Since writing the above a coincidence of accidental circumstances hath happened relative to the above symbol of water I cannot omit mentioning. In company with two captains in his Majesty's navy, the conversation turning upon hieroglyphic writing, they observed that each of them had been marked at Otaheite with characters, each of which had a meaning there among the natives. Nearly the symbol above mentioned went round the thickest part of the leg of one of them. But in the room where we were conversing was a very large antique Etruscan or Grecian vase of singular beauty and elegance. The upper ornament of this vase and the ornament round the leg were not only nearly, but ex-

actly, the same, viz. the figure generally imagined expressive of water."

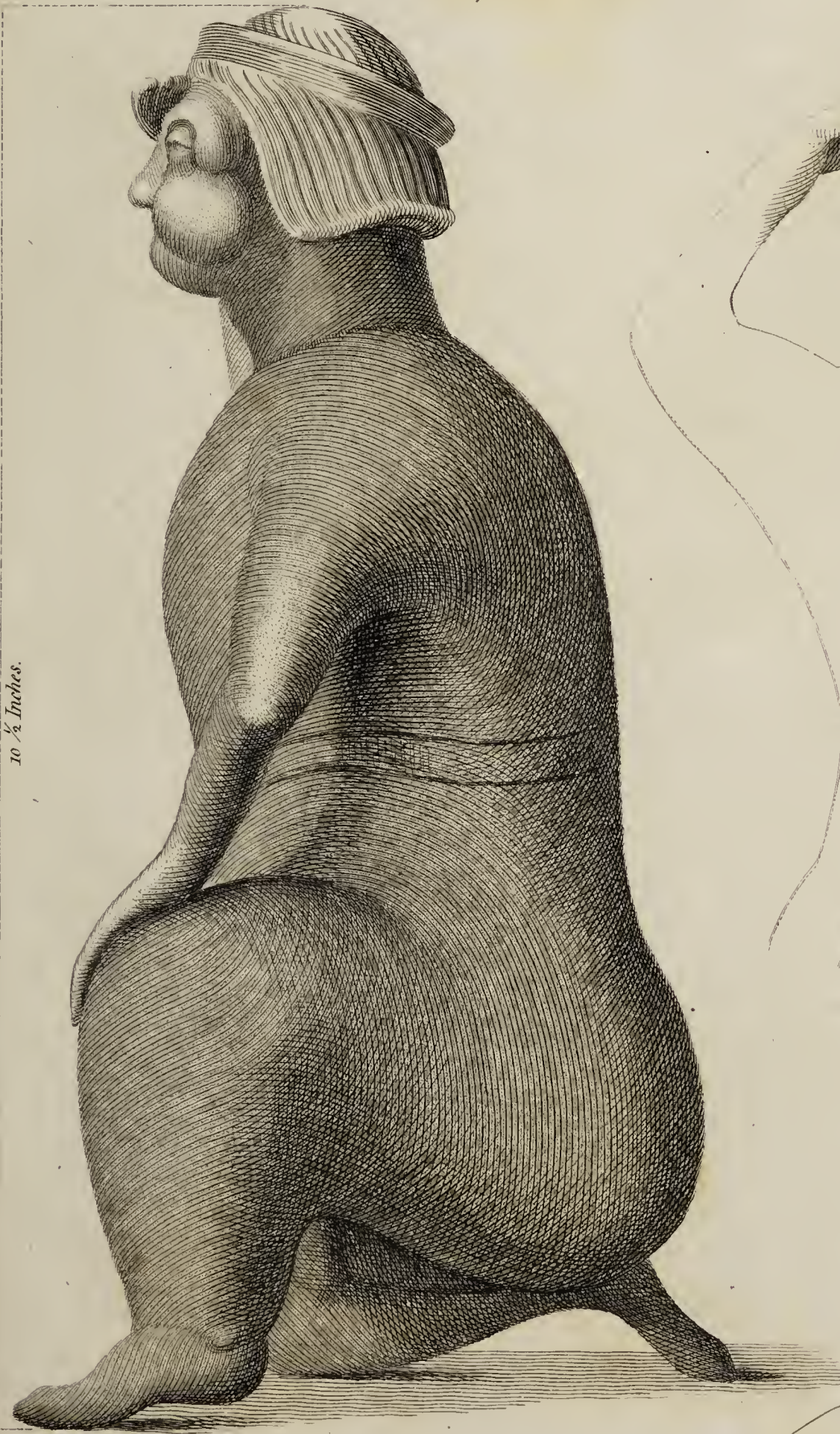
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Pl. XXVII. represents an ancient image of bronze of very rude workmanship, found a few years ago in digging the basin of the canal at Basingstoke, and presented to the Society by Mr. Edmund Fry. It nearly resembles the image described by Dr. Plot in his History of Staffordshire, under the name of *Jack of Hilton*, and like that has been used as an *Æolipile*, having a hole at the back of the neck, for the purpose of filling it with water, and a very small one at the mouth to occasion the blast. Fig. 1. shews the image in profile. Fig. 2. a front view of the upper part. Fig. 3. the back of the head.



1

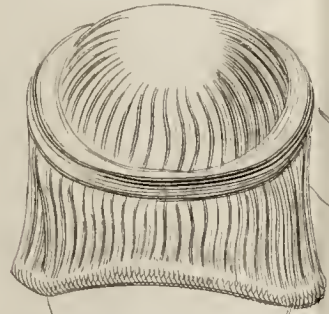
2



10 1/2 Inches.



3



*Ancient Bronze Aeolipyle found at Basingstoke.*

*J. Basire delin et*







Presents to the SOCIETY since the Publication of the  
Twelfth Volume of the ARCHÆOLOGIA.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Sir William Hamilton,<br>Knt.  | The Second Volume of a Collection of Engravings from Antient Vases of Greek workmanship in his Possession, folio.   |
| Rev. Francis Hen. Egerton,<br>A. M.                                      | The Hippolytus of Euripides edited by him from the Oxford Press, 4to.   |
| Royal Society of London.   | The Philosophical Transactions for 1796 and 1798, 4to.  |
| Rev. John Gutch, A.M.  | History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, from the Original MS. of Anthony Wood in the Bodleian Library, 4 vols. 4to.  |
| Society for the Encouragement of Arts,<br>Manufactures, and<br>Commerce. | The fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth volumes of their Transactions, 8vo.   |
| Rev. Edward Ledwich,<br>LL.B.  | Statistical account by him of the Parish of Aghaboe, in the Queen's County, Ireland, 8vo. Dublin, 1796.   |
| Ds. Adamus Fabroni,<br>Honorary Member.                                  | Simulacro di nuova Venere—Firenze, 1796.  |
| The late Bishop of Exeter.   | A Drawing of an Altar in the Priest Vicar's Vestry in the Cathedral of Exeter.  |
| Edward King, Esq.  | Vestiges of Oxford Castle, or a small Fragment of a Work intended to be published speedily, on the History of Antient Castles, and on the Progress of Architecture, folio, 1796." Also "Remarks concerning Stones said to have fallen from the Clouds, both in these Days and in ancient Times, 1796, 4to." |
| John Chamberlaine, Esq.  | No. 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13, of engraved Portraits after Original Drawings by Holbein in his Majesty's Collection.  |

- Richard Gough, Esq. The Second Volume of his Sepulchral Monuments, folio.
- William Blizard, Esq. Suggestions for the Improvement of Hospitals, and other Charitable Institutions. London, 1796, 8vo.
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E R R A T A.

- Page 68, 3d line from the bottom, after the word "Confinements" put a comma instead of a full stop.  
 369, for "dte" 8th line from top, read "dates."  
 372, for "several" 3d line from top, read "several."

1870

Received of \_\_\_\_\_  
the sum of \_\_\_\_\_  
for \_\_\_\_\_

1870

Received of \_\_\_\_\_  
the sum of \_\_\_\_\_  
for \_\_\_\_\_















